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“ÜBER DEN DENUNZIANTEN”

By CARL COLDITZ

Unter diesem Titel erschien im Januar 1837 Heines Vorrede zum dritten Bande seines *Salon*. Darin bezichtigte er den Stuttgarter Kritiker und Herausgeber des *Literaturblattes zum Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, Wolfgang Menzel, der Angeberei. Er beschuldigte ihn der Urheberchaft des Frankfurter Ediktes von 1835, welches dem sogenannten Jungen Deutschland auf Jahre hinaus den Garaus gemacht habe. Heine braucht keine Beweise. Wie oft in ähnlichen Fällen, beschränkte er sich auf Anspielungen persönlicher Art. Menzel aber wurde Denunziant und blieb es nicht nur in den allgemeineren Literaturgeschichten, sondern auch in der Meinung der meisten Forscher, die sich näher mit der jungdeutschen Zeit befaßt haben.

Unter den letzteren bekennen sich als Anhänger der Heine-Theorie J. Proelß,¹ R. M. Meyer,² L. Geiger,³ G. Brandes,⁴ S. Lublinski,⁵ H. Bieber,⁶ F. Kainz,⁷ und H. H. Houben.⁸ Oskar Walzel entschuldigt Menzel.⁹ Verteidiger findet er nur in H. von Treitschke,¹⁰ Adolf Bartels,¹¹ und J. Nadler.¹²

Abgesehen von Hugo Biebers Angabe, daß Menzel seine bekannte Kritik von Gutzkows *Wally* schon vor Druck “höchstwahrscheinlich” Metternich und seinen Organen unterbreitet habe, liegt der Kernpunkt doch eigentlich nur darin, ob eine öffentliche Kritik eines Buches, in einem schon seit Jahren bestehenden Literaturblatt ge-

¹ Johannes Proelß, *Das junge Deutschland* (Stuttgart 1892), S. 620 f.

² R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (7. Auflage. Berlin 1923), Register. Siehe auch: *Gestalten und Probleme* (Berlin 1905), S. 174 ff.

³ Ludwig Geiger, *Das junge Deutschland und die preußische Zensur* (Berlin 1900), S. 132-33.

⁴ Georg Brandes, *Die Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts in ihren Hauptströmungen*, 6. Band: *Das junge Deutschland* (Leipzig 1891), S. 260 ff.

⁵ S. Lublinski, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, 3. Band: *Das junge Deutschland* (Berlin 1900), S. 126.

⁶ Hugo Bieber, *Der Kampf um die Tradition* (Stuttgart 1928), S. 133.

⁷ F. Kainz, “Das junge Deutschland” (in Merker-Stammler, *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* [Berlin 1926-1928], II, 43-44).

⁸ H. H. Houben, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang* (Leipzig 1911), S. 42 ff.

⁹ Oskar Walzel, *Die deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod* (2. Auflage. Berlin 1920), S. 52.

¹⁰ Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig 1927), IV, 440-41.

¹¹ Adolf Bartels, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (11. und 12. Auflage. Braunschweig 1924), S. 339.

¹² Josef Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften* (Regensburg 1928), IV, 116.

druckt, eine Denunziation und Angeberei ist oder nicht. R. M. Meyer definiert das Hauptwort Denunziant: "Nach dem Sprachgebrauch ist ein Denunziant nur einer, der einen vielleicht strafflos bleibenden zur Anzeige bringt."¹³ Arna Novák, als Rezensent der Dissertation von Erich Harsing, *Wolfgang Menzel und das junge Deutschland* (Düsseldorf 1909), kommt zu dem Resultat, daß die Meyersche Definition Menzels Denunziation ein und für alle Mal als sicher beweise.¹⁴

Ich wähle hier die Meyersche Definition, weil sie doch die bisherige "Denunziant ist, wer etwas irgendwie angibt," auf "einen vielleicht strafflos bleibenden," zu beschränken versucht.

Gegen Meyer opponiert vor allem Adolf Bartels. Für ihn ist Denunziant nur, wer etwas geheimer Weise bei der Polizei angibt, eine Definition, die vielleicht Bieber zu seinem "höchstwahrscheinlich" veranlaßte. Mit von Treitschke übereinstimmend, daß derjenige kein Denunziant sein könne, der irgend eine Streitsache öffentlich zur Aussprache bringe, hebt Bartels hervor, daß es nationale Pflicht des Kritikers sei, irgend eine literarische Bewegung oder Gestaltung, die er für destruktiv hält, zu brandmarken.

Als Ursache für eine Denunziation wird Menzel der Konkurrenzfurcht bezichtigt, welche die von Gutzkow und Wienbarg geplante *Deutsche Revue* verursacht habe. In dieser Beziehung geht Brandes noch einen Schritt weiter, indem er angibt, daß Menzel schon vor dem Gutzkowschen *Literaturblatt* im Dullerschen *Phönix* gezittert habe.¹⁵

Die Frage, ob Menzel Denunziant war oder nicht, muß also von zwei Richtungen aus betrachtet werden: Hatte Menzel wirklich Ursache Gutzkowsche Konkurrenz derartig zu fürchten, daß er ihn bei der Staatsgewalt anzeigen mußte, oder handelte es sich bei Menzel doch um Prinzipien, die er verfocht. Zweitens: Hat Menzel vielleicht strafflos bleibende Autoren vor Gericht gebracht, oder wären die jungdeutschen Autoren auch ohne Menzels Kritik den Regierungen verfallen.¹⁶

Betrachtet man die Verhältnisse der damaligen Zeit nur oberflächlich, so kann man sehr leicht zu der Überzeugung kommen, daß Menzel aus Konkurrenzfurcht zu einem Gewaltakt gegen Gutzkow vorgegangen war. Finanzielle Stürme bedrohten die jungen Schriftsteller. Die ewige Zensur erschwerte deren Existenzmöglichkeiten

¹³ H. Meisner und Erich Schmidt, *Briefe an Wolfgang Menzel* (Berlin 1908), S. xii (Einleitung von R. M. Meyer).

¹⁴ *Euphorion*, XVIII (1911), 545.

¹⁵ Georg Brandes, *op. cit.*, S. 80 ff.

¹⁶ Dieser zweite Punkt ist eingehend von Emil Jenal in der *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LVIII (1933), 165-95, unter dem Titel "Der Kampf gegen die jungdeutsche Literatur" besprochen worden. Ferner sei hier auf Jenals *Wolfgang Menzel als Dichter, Literaturhistoriker und Kritiker* (Berlin 1937) hingewiesen. Jenal kommt zu dem Resultat, daß die Jungdeutschen auch ohne Menzels Kritik in die Hände der Regierungen gefallen wären.

ohne Ausnahme. Alle erhofften durch Herausgabe einer Zeitschrift, also mit Hilfe einer gesicherten Abonnentenzahl, ihr Leben zu fristen. Börne, Lewald, Wienbarg, Mundt—alle hatten ein solches Ziel; und auch Menzel.¹⁷

Es herrschte zweifelsohne eine gewisse Nervösität unter den "Zerrissenen". Keiner von ihnen sah letzten Endes gern eine neue konkurrierende Zeitschrift erscheinen. Hatte es nicht endlose Mühe gekostet, sich Abonnenten zu sichern? Nehmen wir nur Mundt als Beispiel an. Als er von Gutzkows und Wienbargs Plan der *Deutschen Revue* hörte, wollte er seinen eigenen monatlich erscheinenden *Zodiacus* in eine Halbmonatsschrift umändern, um ja keinen seiner 400 Subskribenten zu verlieren.

Als Ausnahme stand Menzel da. Gerade um 1835 stand er auf der Höhe seines Ruhmes. Verfolgen wir also kurz Menzels Werdegang bis September 1835.

Als geflohener Burschenschaftler begann er seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit in der Schweiz mit seinen *Europäischen Blättern*. Im Jahre 1823 veröffentlichte er sein erstes in Jean Paulscher Manier geschriebenes Werk, *Streckverse*. Jean Paul selbst spricht sich lobend über dieses Bündchen aus.¹⁸ Josef Nadler nennt es sogar ein "Bekenntnisbuch eigenartiger Prägung". "Menzels Aphorismen", sagt er, "bezeugen den tiefsten Umsturz dieses Jahrhunderts unter den frühesten Denkmälern: vom Kultur- zum Staatsvolk"¹⁹—eine feinsinnige Anerkennung des bekannten Forschers.

Durch Ludwig Börne auf Menzel aufmerksam geworden, holte der alte Baron von Cotta den jungen Dränger nach Stuttgart, um durch ihn sein unter Müllners Leitung abgewirtschaftetes *Literaturblatt* neu zu beleben. Mit überraschender Sicherheit und Kraft entwickelt der ehemalige Schlesier hier im Schwabenlande dieses Blatt zu dem bedeutendsten kritischen Journal der Zeit. Ein neuer Geist wehte aus den Blättern. Menzel erwirkte für das *Literaturblatt* was später Laube für die *Elegante* in Leipzig erreichte. In kürzester Zeit wurde der Kritiker Menzel zum "Stuttgarter Literaturpapst." Man braucht nur in den von Meisner und Schmidt herausgegebenen Briefen an Menzel zu lesen. 1827 erschien dann seine *Deutsche Literatur*, welche die Jugend begeisterte und weiterhin seinen Ruhm erhöhte, den Halt

¹⁷ Börne, *Die Waage*; *Zeitung der freien Stadt Frankfurt*; *Die Zeitschwinger*. Laube, *Aurora*; *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*. Gutzkow, *Forum der Journal-Literatur*; *Literaturblatt zum Phönix*; *Deutsche Revue*; Mitarbeiter an Cotta'schen Veröffentlichungen wie *Literaturblatt zum Morgenblatt*; *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*. Mundt, *Schriften in bunter Reihe*; *Literarischer Zodiacus*. Lewald, *Europa*. Wienbarg, *Deutsche Revue*. Alle hier angegebenen Zeitschriften sind vor 1836 ins Leben gerufen worden. Näheres in H. H. Houben, *Bibliographisches Repertorium*. 3. Band: *Zeitschriften des jungen Deutschlands*. 1. und 2. Teil (Berlin 1906).

¹⁸ Heinrich Meisner und Erich Schmidt, *op. cit.*, S. 138.

¹⁹ Josef Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften* (Regensburg 1928) IV, 146-47.

erstärkte, den er am Leben der Nation hatte. Im Jahre 1829 erschien sein *Rübezahl* und im nächsten Jahre sein *Narzissus*. Es sind dies zwar keine klassischen Dichterwerke, bezeugen aber doch Fähigkeit und Geist.

Vor allem aber ist wichtig, daß Menzel fest und unbestritten in Cottas Diensten stand, in den Diensten des Mannes, der von allen Strebenden gesucht und dessen Ja oder Nein oft Werden oder Verderben bedeutete. Menzel hatte sich durch Fleiß, Geist, und Kühnheit eine Stellung erworben, die ihn gegen finanzielle Stürme sicherte.

In allen bisher veröffentlichten Werken Menzels habe ich keinen Versuch Menzels finden können auch nur eine der anderen Zeitschriften zu schädigen und deren Herausgeber zu unterdrücken. Im Gegenteil, der Forscher sollte hier lobend anerkennen, daß Menzel zu jeder Zeit willig gewesen war, neuen Talenten zu helfen und sie zu fördern.

Den gewiß harten Menzelschen Angriffen auf Gutzkow und Wienbarg müssen wohl andere Ursachen zu Grunde liegen. Um seine wirklichen Beweggründe herauszufinden, die ihn so "plötzlich" bewogen, die Streitaxt zu schwingen, um die wahren Ursachen zu verstehen, muß man das gegenseitige Verhältnis der zwei Hauptpersonen dieses Dramas untersuchen. Es scheint mir, daß man nur auf diesem Wege die Lösung der Frage finden kann.

Mit einzigartiger Begeisterung hatte Gutzkow Menzels *Deutsche Literatur* gelesen. Mit gleichem Enthusiasmus verfolgte er das Wirken des Stuttgarter Kritikers in dessen *Literaturblatt*. So entschloß er sich, eine eigene Zeitschrift herauszugeben, das *Forum der Journalliteratur*. Warm spricht er sich darin über Menzel aus und dieser, seinerseits, empfahl Gutzkows erste Zeitschrift innigst in seinem *Literaturblatt*.²⁰ Sein Versuch, das *Forum* zu einem dem *Literaturblatt* ebenbürtigen Magazin zu erheben, schlug fehl. Die Zeitschrift ging ein.

Jetzt kam ihm Menzel zu Hilfe. Dieser wollte sich 1832 politisch betätigen und bedurfte einer jungen Kraft, die ihm seine Bürde erleichtern würde. Er rief sich Gutzkow nach Stuttgart und dieser wurde nun sein Gehilfe. Diese literarische Lehrzeit Gutzkows darf nicht unterschätzt werden, aber nicht nur als Lehrzeit, sondern vor allem der Verbindung wegen, die sie Gutzkow brachte. War auch die Gutzkowsche Tätigkeit für Menzel anfangs vielleicht nicht die interessanteste, so eröffnete sie ihm doch den Verkehr mit dem Cotta'schen Hause, und Gutzkow fand Gelegenheit, sein Talent nicht nur kritisch zu beschäftigen, sondern auch rein schriftstellerisch zu erweitern. Das *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* stand ihm offen, und auch die anderen Cotta'schen Publikationen konnte er nun leichter erreichen.

²⁰ *Literaturblatt*, Nr. 20 vom 21. Juli 1831.

Menzel selbst nahm sich seiner teilnahmsvoll an. Er besprach mit ihm Pläne und beeinflusste ihn nachhaltig in seinen Erstlingswerken. Für Gutzkow stand nun unter Cottas und Menzels Fittichen eine bedeutende Zukunft offen.

Gutzkow aber wollte es anders. Er machte die Bekanntschaft des jungen Laube, der eben in Leipzig eine Sensation wurde. Zusammen mit ihm unternahm er eine Italienreise und dort, im fernen Süden, las ihm jener *Die Poeten*, aus der Trilogie *Das junge Europa*, vor. Laubes jugendliches Temperament, sein lebhaftes Stürmer- und Drängerwesen, seine Ideen über moderne Zeitströmungen müssen den gleichfalls jungen Gutzkow rasch eingenommen haben. Er begann mit dem schon etwas älteren Menzel zu zerfallen—innerlich wenigstens. Er begann ihn zu vernachlässigen.²¹ Es mag auch sein, daß Laubes Erfolg als selbstständiger Redakteur gleiches Verlangen wiederum in Gutzkow wachgerufen hatte. Vielleicht hatte ihm Laube auch Hoffnung auf ein Leipziger Zusammenarbeiten gemacht.²² Auf alle Fälle glaubte Gutzkow seinen Lehrmeister vergessen zu dürfen. Daß Laubes Einfluß zu einem Umschwung bedeutend gewesen, ergibt sich aus einem Briefe Gutzkows vom 2. November 1833 an den jungen Cotta. Er schreibt, daß er gern eine eigene Zeitschrift herausgeben möchte, ein Journal, daß Cottas *Literaturblatt* bei weitem überragen werde. Er möchte diese Zeitschrift für sich und Gleichgesinnte haben. Keime und Zeichen für ein junges Deutschland, ein "jeune Allemagne", seien in der Luft. "Ich habe davon so viele Zeichen und ein so festes Vertrauen, daß sie mich nicht trügen," schrieb er.²³

Dieser Vorschlag enthält so manches Interessante. Erstens zeigt er, in welchem hohem Maße Gutzkow von Laube beeinflusst worden war. Drunten in Italien muß so manches besprochen worden sein. Laubes Einfluß ist in dem Gebrauch des Ausdruckes "jeune Allemagne" zu ersehen. Vielleicht aber hatte auch Mazzinische Propaganda auf Gutzkow eingewirkt. Zweitens deutete der Vorschlag

²¹ Daß Menzel und Gutzkow im Sommer 1833 zerfielen, ergibt sich aus der Zahl der Gutzkowschen Beiträge, die dieser für das *Literaturblatt* lieferte. Im Jahre 1831 schrieb er nur drei, im nächsten Jahre steigert sich die Zahl schon auf 59, im Jahre 1833 waren es 56, von denen 53 allein auf die erste Hälfte des Jahres fielen. Im Jahre 1834 schrieb er nur acht Rezensionen für Menzel, im darauf folgenden Jahre lieferte er keinen einzigen Beitrag. Interessant ist nun hier der Vergleich mit dem *Morgenblatt* selbst. In diesem wurden im Jahre 1831 keine Beiträge von Gutzkow gedruckt, im Jahre 1832 schon vierzehn. 1833 erhöhte sich die Zahl auf 59. Diese enthalten u. a. Teile seines Romanes *Maha Guru*. 1834 schrieb er 61 Artikel und seine Novelle *Die Sadduzäer von Amsterdam*. Aber auch im *Morgenblatt* fällt im Jahre 1835 die Zahl der Beiträge auf sechs; u. a. finden wir den Prolog zu seinem *Nero*. Gutzkows letzter Beitrag für 1835 erscheint schon am 4. April in Nr. 81 des Blattes. Dieses scharfe Abfallen seiner Zusendungen ist durch seine Tätigkeit für Sauerländers *Phönix* zu erklären.

²² H. H. Houben, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang*, S. 2.

²³ Johannes Proelß, *op. cit.*, S. 25.

definitiv einen Bruch mit Menzel an. Gutzkow wollte eine Zeitschrift herausgeben, die das Menzelsche *Literaturblatt* überragen werde. Er wollte es für "Gleichgesinnte" haben, ein Verlangen welches zeigt, daß er Menzel nicht mehr als einen solchen betrachtet.

Natürlich lehnte Cotta ab. Er bot ihm dafür die Berliner Korrespondenz für seine *Allgemeine Zeitung* an—ein Zeichen, daß auch Cotta wußte, daß für Gutzkow ein längeres Verweilen in Stuttgart nichts Anziehendes mehr besaß. Gutzkow lehnte ab.

Menzel hatte sich bis dahin zweifelsohne als Gutzkows Freund und Gönner erwiesen. Er hatte die Fähigkeiten des jungen Berliners wohl erkannt und sich ernstlich bemüht, ihm zur Höhe zu verhelfen. Ohne Falschheit, ohne Eifersucht, ohne "Furcht" hatte er Gutzkow auf langen Ausflügen in die süddeutsche Landschaft Rat gegeben. Er schlug ihm den Stoff zum *Maha Guru* vor und half ihm ferner, indem er den Roman aufs günstigste rezensierte.²⁴ Und bis Gutzkow enger mit Laube bekannt geworden war, hatte jener auch treu zu Menzel gehalten. Noch kurz vor seiner Italienreise schrieb er an Cotta, daß er seine Verbindung mit Menzel aus drei Gründen niemals aufgeben werde: aus Freundschaft, Dankbarkeit und eigenem Vorteil!²⁵ Es war die Italienreise, die ihn verändert hatte.²⁶

Ein völliger Zerfall mit Menzel trat aber nicht ein. Im Gegenteil, der bestehende Zwist schien zu verfallen. Im Spätsommer 1834 wollte Menzel selbst eine Italienreise unternehmen und er bat Gutzkow, während dieser Zeit das *Literaturblatt* zu redigieren. Gutzkow machte sich denn auch im August 1834 von Hamburg nach Stuttgart auf, wo ihn Cotta und Menzel erwarteten. In Frankfurt aber warb J. D. Sauerländer um den jungen Literaten. Gutzkow sollte für dessen *Phönix*, den Duller redigierte, vom 1. Januar 1835 an das *Literaturblatt zum Phönix* übernehmen. Gutzkow sagte zu und ließ ganz unerwartet Cotta und Menzel im Stich. Es scheint aber, als ob Gutzkow immerhin diese Sache doch fatal gewesen war, denn er schweigt sich vorläufig sogar seinen Freunden gegenüber darüber aus. Erst Ende November, z. B., unterrichtete er Schlesier, mit dem er oft korrespondierte, von seinem neuen Unternehmen. Und sogar hier ist es eigentlich nur eine notgedrungene Auskunft. Schlesier hatte ihm ein Buch zur Besprechung für das Menzelsche *Literaturblatt* übersandt. Gutzkow mußte ihm nun mitteilen, daß er diese nicht übernehmen könne, da er mit Menzel zerfallen sei und am 1. Januar folgenden

²⁴ *Literaturblatt*, Nr. 20 vom 24. März 1834.

²⁵ Harsing, *op. cit.*, S. 25.

²⁶ Teilweise verantwortlich war bestimmt auch eine gewisse Abstrafung die Menzel Gutzkow zu Teil werden ließ, als sich dieser in seinem Vorwort zu seinen *Novellen* einen kleinen Spaß mit Menzel erlaubte. Er schrieb, daß Menzel wohl keine Zeile schreibe, ohne dabei an den Kirchenrat Paulus in Heidelberg zu denken. Nichts konnte Menzel auch mehr erbosen, als seinen Namen mit dem des Kirchenrates verbunden zu sehen.

Jahres ein eigenes Literaturblatt herausgeben werde. Gutzkow aber ließ es nicht bei einer solchen sachlichen Notiz. Er gab sich Mühe den Verfall mit Menzel zu erklären. Das Gewissen scheint ihn doch ein wenig gedrückt zu haben. Er erzählte Schlesier die Paulusgeschichte und fing an, wenn auch erst recht vorsichtig, Menzel rücklings zu untergraben. In diesem Briefe vom 27. November 1834 schrieb er: "Menzel ist auf dem Punkt abzuschließen; er möchte gern das Resultat seiner bisherigen Laufbahn ziehen, dann in Geschichte, Staatswissenschaften, parlamentarisches Treiben und manche kleine Lieblingsidee, die er früher auszuführen nicht Zeit hatte, übergehen, auf seinen Lorbeeren ausruhend."²⁷

Mit solchem Gerede, Dichtung und Wahrheit gepaart, klagt sich Gutzkow nur selbst an. Es bezeugt, daß seine Aussichten in Stuttgart besser gewesen wären, als er selbst zugeben möchte. So schreibt einer, der etwas verpaßt hat. Menzel gab sich wirklich zur Zeit mit Geschichte und Staatswissenschaften ab. Er saß ja auch noch in der Württembergischen Kammer und hätte bestimmt manche "Lieblingsidee" ausgeführt. Aber ein Mann mit solch weitverzweigten Interessen ruht nicht auf seinen Lorbeeren aus. Daß Gutzkow diese Menzelschen Pläne kannte, bezeugt nur, wieviel Menzel noch immer auf seinen Schüler hielt, als er ihn bat, nach Stuttgart zu kommen, um—wie es scheint—ihm seine Stellung wenigstens auf eine gewisse Zeit zu übergeben. Im selben Briefe aber fuhr Gutzkow fort, Menzel weiter zu beschuldigen. Er schrieb, daß Menzel einen Bruch wohl vorausgesehen habe. Er, Gutzkow, gehöre der Natur nach zu einer jungen Generation, zu einer, die Menzel jetzt peinige. Laube und Wienbarg seien zwei andere Geister, die in dieselbe Klasse wie er gehörten. Dann sah Gutzkow haarscharf in die Zukunft. Er sah, daß der gegenwärtige Bruch nur der Auftakt zu einem viel gewaltigeren sein würde. Er sah, daß Menzel ihn wohl eine Weile so treiben lassen, aber dann bestimmt mit seiner Wolfsnatur über ihn herfallen werde. Jetzt da er an einer eigenen Zeitschrift arbeite, müsse er bestimmt mit Menzel in Konflikt geraten. Unbekümmert aber fuhr er fort: "Das wird alles sehr lustig sein, und ich wünsche nur, das Trauerjahr, daß ich als sein Sproß und Günstling halten muß . . . wäre bald vorüber." Was für Selbstvertrauen Gutzkow damals hatte! Er wird also seinen Meister schon unter die Erde bringen!

Ehe Gutzkow seine neue Tätigkeit angetreten hatte, muß noch einmal eine Begegnung mit Menzel stattgefunden haben. Es muß ein eigenartiges Zusammentreffen gewesen sein, eins, in welchem es sich nicht allein um Gutzkows Stellung gehandelt hat, sondern auch um Grundsätze, die nun mächtig zusammenprallten. Der "alte" Menzel verteidigte die seinen, der junge Springinsfeld hielt zu den eigenen. So müssen die beiden Männer geschieden sein: als Gegner. Vorläufig

²⁷ Houben, *Jungdeutschen Sturm und Drang*, S. 7-8.

aber war Gutzkow frei von jeder Beklemmung. Am 7. Januar 1835 schrieb er an Schlesier, daß Menzel Lust zur Versöhnung gehabt habe. Da er ihm aber die Vorhand gelassen habe, sei nichts daraus geworden. Er fuhr fort: "... und ich bin nach Frankfurt gekommen ... frei von jeder Beklemmung des Urteils und des Gewissens."²⁸

Gutzkow begann nun sein "großes Jahr" und auch seine Polemik gegen Menzel.²⁹ Dieser aber schwieg. Gutzkows Urteil wurde immer unbescheidener. In einem Briefe an Schlesier vom 28. März 1835 und in einem anderen vom 30. Juli wurde er ausfällig. Er stellte Menzel als so frivol hin, daß er ihm "öfter ekelhaft" war. Er nennt ihn nun eine "kochende" Wolfsnatur.

Inzwischen griff er Menzel in seinem Literaturblatt an. Wöchentlich brachte er "Leit- und Streitartikel", welche seinem Literaturblatt ein eigenes Gepräge gaben. In seinen Programmen schaute er in die Vergangenheit. Menzel und Börne gehörten dahin. Der Ton ihrer literarischen Kritik könnte in der Zukunft nicht mehr befolgt werden. Die jungen Literaten sollten anfangen zu produzieren, nicht mehr operieren und zerfleischen, sondern heilen und aufbauen. Lehren, die er leider selbst nicht immer befolgte.

Man bemerke, wie sicher Gutzkow auftritt, wie er sich oft anmaßend gegen Menzel ausdrückt und—gegen Börne, den Menzel damals noch schätzte.³⁰ Er sieht offenbar seine Lehrzeit für beendet an. Er ruft die Jungen auf unter *sein* Banner zu treten. Eine neue Literatur sollten sie schaffen. Gutzkow dachte an seine *Wally*.

Noch nie hatte Gutzkow wohl eine solche Gelegenheit gehabt wie damals. Er war sein eigener Herr, hatte sein eigenes Literaturblatt unter einem bekannten Verleger. Er konnte wirken wie er wollte und sogar über Menzel herziehen.³¹

²⁸ Houben, *Jungdeutschen Sturm und Drang*, S. 25.

²⁹ Das Jahr 1835 ist als Gutzkows "großes Jahr" bekannt geworden. Er redigierte das *Literaturblatt zum Phönix*, schrieb seine Vorrede zu der Ausgabe von *Schleiermachers Vertrauten Briefen über die Luzinde*, korrespondierte für Cottas *Allgemeine Zeitung*, schrieb fürs *Morgenblatt*, veröffentlichte seine *Öffentlichen Charaktere*, beendete den *Nero*, übernahm und begann die Herausgabe der Werke Victor Hugos für Sauerländer, schrieb *Wally, die Zweiflerin* in circa drei Wochen, dichtete sein Drama *Hamlet in Wittenberg*, plante die *Deutsche Revue* und schrieb den Roman *Seraphine, die Entsagende*.

³⁰ Noch heute besteht die Meinung, daß Börne, der vom Bundestagsediket vom Jahre 1835 ausgeschlossen worden, von Menzel gerettet worden war. Ich bin aber der Meinung, daß er dieses Glück gerade Gutzkows Artikel im *Literaturblatt zum Phönix* zu verdanken hat. Gerade dadurch, daß hier Gutzkow ihn unter die "Alten" zählt, kann vielleicht als genügend Grund angesehen werden, Börne zu verschonen. Nur die Jungen waren ja gefährlich!

³¹ Gutzkow schrieb am 27. November 1834 an Schlesier: "Ich gehe wie im Traume fort, am Gängelbändel der Notwendigkeit, wo ich jedenfalls mit ihm [Menzel] in Berührung kommen muß. Vom 1. Januar nämlich soll ich in Frankfurt a.M. bei Sauerländer zu dem von Duller besorgten *Phönix* ein Literaturblatt schreiben. ... Daß ich dabei mit Menzel in Konflikt gerate sei ich jetzt erst, wo ich für das Blatt zu schreiben anfangen." Houben, *Jungdeutschen Sturm und Drang*, S. 8. Daß Gutzkow sein "erst jetzt" ernst meint, bezweifle ich. Er war ja schon derartig mit Menzel zerfallen, daß ein Konflikt stattfinden mußte.

Immerhin gab es für Gutzkow Ursachen, die ihm sein Streben etwas versauerten. Jetzt, da er imstande war, als selbstständiger Konkurrent Menzels auftreten zu können, mußte er herausfinden, daß sein Literaturblatt bei weitem nicht so bekannt noch so geschätzt war wie das Menzelsche. Eigentlich hätte er das für natürlich ansehen sollen, aber es schmerzte ihn sehr. Schlesier in Leipzig hatte den *Phönix* noch nicht aufreiben können. So schrieb der junge Gutzkow am 16. Januar an den literaturbewandten Schlesier, daß er den *Phönix* doch in jeder Buchhandlung finden könnte. Gleichzeitig bat er ihn, doch etwas zur Verbreitung der Zeitschrift beizutragen. "Koramieren und tribulieren Sie Linke und Reklam," schrieb er, "das erwart' ich aufrichtig von Ihrer Freundschaft! Die langsame Art, wie ein solches Blatt sich einnistet, ennüiert mich: durch Fürsprache und Manöver ging es weit schneller: also lassen Sie dies Ihre ersten Gänge sein. . . ."⁸² Also Linke und Reklam, die zwei großen Lesebibliotheken, hatten noch nicht auf den *Phönix* abonniert!⁸³

Ferner fand Gutzkow gar bald heraus, daß seine so kühnen Angriffe nicht ohne Folgen bleiben würden. Es war aber nicht Menzel, der ihn zuerst bekämpfte, obwohl doch gerade dieser genügend Gründe dazu hatte. Es war die *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, die sich recht streng gegen Gutzkow aussprach.⁸⁴ Gutzkows heftigster Gegner aber war die Zensur.

Sprache und Programm seines Literaturblattes zogen bald die besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Zensur auf den *Phönix*, und Sauerländer hatte manche Unannehmlichkeit. Seit Errichtung des Mainzer Zentralinformations Bureaus im Jahre 1833 hatte man Gutzkow genauer auf die Finger gesehen und ihm die Flügel beschnitten. Die steten Zensursorgen ließen Gutzkow nicht heiter werden und er verließ im August 1835 den *Phönix*. Sauerländer hatte nichts dagegen.⁸⁵

⁸² Brief vom 16. Januar 1835. Houben, *op. cit.*, S. 27.

⁸³ Ich möchte hier durchaus nicht Gutzkows Wert für den *Phönix* unterschätzt wissen. Es ging dem Heißsporn nur nicht schnell genug.

⁸⁴ Am 16. Februar 1835 schrieb die *Elegante*, daß Gutzkow selbst nicht halte, was er predige, daß auch er mehr zerfleiße als aufbaue. Besonders wird Gutzkows Kritik über Tieck scharf abgelehnt. Man schrieb: "Wehe uns, wenn wir es dulden, daß ein solcher Molochs Kultus sich ungestraft bei uns verbreite—daß die Kritik zur bösen Nachrede und belletristische Schriften zu Libellen gegen Frauen herabsinken." Am 9. Mai desselben Jahres warnt dieselbe Zeitschrift Gutzkow noch einmal. Sie wird von seiner frivolen Gesinnung abgeschreckt und bemerkt, daß Gutzkow sogar die "Grenze der allgemeinen Schicklichkeit überschreitet."

⁸⁵ K. Glossy, *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz* (Wien 1912), S. 28 f.; 49 f.—Metternichs Geheimagent berichtet, daß er davon überzeugt sei, daß Gutzkow den *Phönix* nur als Sprungbrett habe benutzen wollen. Seine Gedanken aber hätten den Widerwillen Dullers und Sauerländers erregt. Diese hätten wohl gewußt, wohinaus Gutzkow wolle und sich deshalb entweit. Sauerländer habe Gutzkow gerügt, weil er mehrere Male den Ausdruck "junges Deutschland" gebraucht habe.

Nach all diesem ist es schwer erklärlich, wie Brandes auf den Gedanken gekommen ist, Menzel habe sich vor dem Gutzkowschen Literaturblatt gefürchtet. Ein Beweis dafür besteht nicht. Menzel selbst hat sich nicht darüber ausgesprochen. Seine Stille mag vielleicht andeuten, daß er einmal mächtig drein schlagen werde, wenn Gutzkow so weiter gegen ihn wirken würde—sonst aber nichts. Im Grunde genommen ist Menzels Zurückhaltung bewunderungswert. Vielleicht hat er doch noch Hoffnung gehabt, daß sich sein einstiger Schüler bessern werde.

Schon ehe sich Gutzkow vollkommen von Sauerländer losgesagt hatte, begann er Verhandlungen für ein neues Unternehmen. Sofort wendete er sich wieder an Cotta. Am 20. August fragte er deswegen an. Er wünschte, daß Cotta eine Stuttgarter Literaturzeitung übernehmen sollte, welche er und Wienbarg redigieren würden. Sie sollte eine "Zeitung großen Stils" werden. Mit erstaunlicher Offenheit bekannte er: "Nichts ist erwiesener als die Collision mit dem *Literaturblatt zum Morgenblatt*."⁸⁶ Cotta hat nun nicht gerade im Sinne, mit einer seiner besten Zeitungen, dem *Morgenblatt*, zu konkurrieren, noch Menzel, der sich bewährt hatte, auf die Straße zu setzen. Gutzkow aber war in solcher Eile, daß er nicht einmal auf eine Antwort wartete. Er eilte nach Stuttgart. Cotta aber wollte nichts von Gutzkows Plänen wissen. Vor allem wollte er auch Menzel nicht reizen. Da mündliche Verhandlungen zu keinem Ergebnis gekommen waren, richtete Gutzkow am 26. August ein "Ultimatum" an den jungen Baron Cotta. Diesen Brief möchte ich hier wörtlich wiedergeben, denn er enthält so manchen Aufschluß über Gutzkows Lage und Charakter:

Verehrter Herr Baron. Ich muß Sie dringend bitten, ein aufrichtiges Ultimatum in unserer Verhandlung zu geben. Durch Ihre letzte Erklärung paralysiren Sie nur meinen Entschluß, den ich, einmal gefaßt, unmöglich wieder rückgängig machen kann, ohne meinen Ruf aufs Spiel zu setzen. Erinnern Sie sich gütigst der Verhandlung vor dreiviertel Jahren! Wie unzuverlässig erschien ich damals Herrn Liesching, dem ich etwas zugesagt hatte, was ich nachher zurücknahm, nicht um Ihnen einen Gefallen zu thun (so eitel bin ich nicht), sondern weil mir Bereitwilligkeiten von Ihrer Seite durch andere garnicht können aufgewogen werden.

Ich habe zwei auswärtige Handlungen, die mir meine Idee ganz bestimmt realisiren, und drei hiesige, mit denen ich bei gewissen Accomodationen (und sollte es die des Honorars sein!) jedenfalls zu einem Ziele komme. Wenn ich nun verschiedene Schritte thue, nahe an einem Kontraktabschluß bin und würde dann durch Ihre etwaige plötzliche Bereitwilligkeit so umgestimmt, daß ich die in Frage stehende andere Firma wieder preisgäbe—so müßt' ich vor mir selbst erröthen—und würde sicher in so widerliche Debatte gerathen, wie ich sie einst mit Herrn Liesching hatte und in die ich jedenfalls noch einmal komme, wenn ich der A. Z. Säkularbilder schreibe.

Versetzen Sie sich doch in meine Lage! Ich möchte um keinen Preis gegen Ihr Interesse, wenn ich mich dieses Ausdrucks bedienen darf, verfahren, ich

⁸⁶ Johannes Proelß, *op. cit.*, S. 592-94.

weiß, daß wenn Sie meine Idee verlegen, sie sich in dem mäßigsten und versöhnendsten Geleise halten würde, warum soll ich leugnen, daß ich Ihre Hand hier gern im Spiele sähe! Aber ich muß einen Entschluß fassen, ich habe Ihnen den Ihrigen heute um so Vieles erleichtert und weiß immer noch nicht, soll ich dort zuschlagen oder hier noch warten. Bringen Sie mich nicht in diese mißliche Lage und tragen Sie durch eine offene Erklärung dazu bei, mir von den hiesigen Verhältnissen keine so feindselige Meinung zu bilden, daß sie fortwährend in mir nachhallte in Zukunft. Ich erinnere Sie an meine Konzessionen: (1) auswärtiger Firma, (2) auswärtiger Druck, (3) Mäßigung in meinen Verhältnissen zu Menzel, (4) Aufforderung der hiesigen Notabilitäten, (5) selbst im Fall der Abweisung in Zukunft das Versprechen, Niemandem etwas nachzutragen und sogar gleich beim Beginn der Deutschen Revue durch einen coup de main mir Sympathie zu erwecken.

Was Sie sonst überlegen müssen, das kann Ihnen unmöglich Zeit rauben. Befreien Sie mich von dem Verdachte, als sollt' ich erst so weit vorgehen, als die äußerste Grenze ist, bis Sie sich erklären, und geben Sie mir noch heute Nachricht. Erhalt' ich sie nicht, so thu' ich die Schritte, welche mich zum Ziele führen und die ich nachher nicht wieder zurücksetzen kann. Ich wiederhole meine Bitte: halten Sie, soweit es geht, alles was bewegend und belebend auf die Literatur wirkt in *Ihrer Hand!* Das wäre eine Maxime deren Befolgung in unserm Falle niemanden mehr erfreuen könnte als

Ihren aufrichtig ergebenen
Gutzkow.⁸⁷

Dieser höchst interessante Brief bezeugt lediglich die desperate Lage, in der sich Gutzkow befand, nämlich einer Situation, die nicht gerade auf die eines gefährlichen Konkurrenten hindeutet. Cotta scheint durchaus nicht mit offenen Armen entgegengekommen zu sein. Es ist wohl möglich, daß er Gutzkow als Redakteur einer neuen Zeitschrift für fähig angesehen hat, aber die Bedingungen, die er an ihn stellte, waren derart, daß sie leicht zu erkennen gaben, daß Cotta wohl verstand, warum der junge Schriftsteller seine alte Position hatte aufgeben müssen. Ferner steht fest, daß Cotta nicht daran dachte, Menzel zu verdrängen, noch Gutzkow Gelegenheit geben wollte, Menzel ähnlich zu befehlen, wie er es im *Literaturblatt zum Phoenix* getan hatte.

Ganz unzweideutig zeigt der Brief, wie weit Gutzkow um einer sicheren Anstellung willen hatte gehen wollen. Auswärtige Firma, auswärtigen Druck, Mäßigung gegen Menzel und Aufforderung an die hiesigen Notabilitäten gab er zu. Derartige Konzessionen hätten Gutzkow in ein Geistesjoch gezwungen—und er muß es wohl gewußt haben.

Gutzkow hatte eine Zeitschrift für Gleichgesinnte von Cotta verlangt, für jungdeutsche Parteigänger, und er sagte Cotta zu, die "hiesigen", d.h. die Dichter der Schwäbischen Schule, der verleiteten Halbromantiker, heranzuziehen. Und Menzel unter die Erde schauen können? Es wäre unmöglich gewesen. Gutzkow ging Irrlichtern nach.

⁸⁷ Proell, *op. cit.*, S. 595-97.

Fernerhin kann aus dem Schreiben ersehen werden, daß Cotta wohl um die Gewitterschwüle wußte, die Menzel und Gutzkow umgab. Cotta befürchtete nicht, daß Menzel Blitze schleudern würde, weil ihm Gutzkow eventuell als Redakteur einer Zeitschrift gegenüberstehen würde, wohl aber würde Menzels Donner rollen, wenn der ehemalige "Adjutant" fortfahren würde, Menzels Methode, Kritik und Lebensanschauung zu verhöhnen. Für Cotta lag keine Ursache vor, Gutzkow eine Zeitschrift vorzuenthalten, aber Mäßigung gegen Menzel verlangte er unbedingt.

Wenn nun Gutzkow von zwei auswärtigen und drei hiesigen Verlegern sprach, die seine Idee ganz bestimmt realisieren würden, so nahm er sich den Mund voll. Er prahlte einfach. Vielleicht hatte er wirklich an Campe in Hamburg gedacht, aber viel lag ihm nicht an einer Verbindung mit diesem "berühmten" Verleger.

Bestimmter hatte er mit einer eventuellen Verbindung mit dem Verleger Heinrich Hoff zu Mannheim gerechnet. So wendete er sich denn auch an diesen, ohne auf eine Cottasche Antwort gewartet zu haben. Am 27. August schrieb er folgendermaßen nach Mannheim:

Stuttgart, den 27. August 35. Bester Herr Hoff! Ich habe Ihre mir in Frankfurt erklärte Bereitwilligkeit nicht vergessen, und bin in der Tat auf den Punkt gekommen, sie jetzt in Anspruch zu nehmen. Ich habe hier nur einem einzigen Buchhändler meine Proposition gemacht, Cotta. Er ergriff meinen Plan mit der größten Lebhaftigkeit, sagte mir eine enorme Summe zu und fängt nun an, da er die ganze Sache übersieht, zu lamentieren; denn (1) opponir' ich gegen Menzel, (2) gegen die hiesigen Notabilitäten und (3) ruinir' ich durch mein Institut das Morgenblatt total. Ihr Schwager sagte mir: Cotta könnte die Nacht nicht schlafen, so mußten ihm diese Dinge im Kopfe herumgehen. . . . Da er fühlt, wie schädlich die Deutsche Revue, herausgegeben von K.G. und Ludolf Wienburg auf den Kredit seiner Blätter wirken muß . . . so ist er in Verzweiflung. Gestern Abend schrieb er nur, er wolle heute noch einmal zu mir kommen; aber ich schreibe an Sie, noch ehe er da war; denn ich lasse mich mit seinen Interessen diesmal garnicht vereinigen.²⁸

Daß Gutzkow hier den wahren Sachverhalt verdrehte, ist offensichtlich. Wollte man Gutzkow hier Glauben schenken, so müßte man wohl zugeben, daß nicht Menzel, sondern Cotta selbst die enormste Konkurrenzfurcht vor dem jungen Gutzkow gehabt hätte. Hoff hat denn auch den Gutzkowschen Brief überhaupt nicht beantwortet, und Gutzkow sah sich gezwungen, sich nach einem anderen Verleger umzusehen.

Diesen fand er in dem erst neuerdings etablierten Frankfurter Verleger Löwenthal, der reges Interesse für die neueste Literatur zeigte.²⁹

²⁸ H. H. Houben, *Zeitschriften des jungen Deutschlands*, 1. Teil, S. 399.

²⁹ Auf seiner Bücherliste standen: Heinrich Laube, *Moderne Charakteristiken*; A. Lewald, *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*; L. Bechstein, *Apriltage*; L. Wienburg, *Holland und Belgien im Jahre 1835*; L. Wienburg, *Zur neuesten Literatur*; Karl Gutzkow, *Wally, die Zweiflerin*.

Eine angriffsfreudige Zeitschrift wäre ihm wohl willkommen gewesen, aber trotz allem machte ihm ein einziger Mann Sorgen: Wolfgang Menzel. Kurz vor der öffentlichen Bekanntmachung der *Deutschen Revue* sprach er seinen Zweifel noch einmal Gutzkow gegenüber aus. Er schrieb: "Also bis Montag sehen wir uns wieder? Komme aber gewiß. . . Und Menzel?"

Wiederum möchte ich hervorheben, daß man auch hier, wie im Falle Cotta, wohl kaum annehmen dürfte, daß sich die Frage "Und Menzel?" auf ein etwaiges Eingreifen Menzels Konkurrenzfurcht wegen bezöge, sondern daß auch Löwenthal, durch Gutzkows unbedingtes Drängen, gegen Menzel zu polemisieren, erwartete, dieser werde sich gegen weitere Anfeindungen wehren. Gutzkow muß es wohl verstanden haben, letzte Einwände und Zweifel Löwenthals zu verschrecken; denn man setzte sich ernstlich daran, die Zeitschrift vor die Öffentlichkeit zu bringen.

Als Hauptmitarbeiter wurden am 26. Oktober in der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* bekannt gegeben: Gutzkow, Wienbarg, Börne, Heine, Laube, Mundt, Veit, Varnhagen, Grabbe, Spazier, König und Büchner. Ein Geheimbericht meldete außerdem noch Beurmann, Koloff, Wihl und Kottenkamp.⁴⁰

Am 3. September 1835 erfolgte die erste offizielle Bekanntmachung der *Deutschen Revue* im *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt* Nr. 244 und in der *Frankfurter Didaskalia* Nr. 243. Am 5. September erschien dann Gutzkows *Wally* und am 11. und 14. September Menzels Kritiken.

Es ist hier nicht meine Absicht, auf die gesamte *Wally*-Kritik einzugehen, sondern nur den Tatsachenbestand anzugeben, soweit die *Deutsche Revue* in Betracht kommt. Um weder die eine, noch die andere Seite zu bevorzugen, halte ich es für angebracht, mehrere Stellen aus dem *Literaturblatt* und der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* zu zitieren. Betreffs der *Deutschen Revue* schreibt Menzel in Nr. 93 und 94 seines *Literaturblattes* folgendes:

Kaum ist das Gift an einem Orte ausgeschwitzt, so legt es sich an dem anderen wieder an. Unstät und flüchtig, ein böser Gast überall, wo es hinkommt, und immer bald ausgetrieben, ist es gleichwohl vorhanden und täuscht die Unerfahrenen. Der Phönix hat seine tausendjährige Periode nicht abgewartet, um sich zu verjüngen, schon in wenigen Monaten vertrug er das Gift seines Literaturblattes nicht mehr. Nichtsdestoweniger droht uns Herr Gutzkow mit einer neuen literarischen Revue im großen Stil, mit einem mächtigen Organ des sogenannten jungen Deutschland, das große Wunder wirken und alles umgestalten soll im alten Deutschland. Aber ich will meinen Fuß hineinsetzen in Euren Schlamm, wohl wissend, daß ich mich besudele. Ich will den Kopf der Schlange zertreten, die im Miste der Wollust sich wärmt. . . Wenn man eine solche Schule der frechsten Unsittlichkeit und raffiniertesten Lüge in Deutschland aufkommen lassen wollte, wenn sich alle Edlen der Nation nicht dagegen

⁴⁰ Glossy, *op. cit.*, S. 30-31.

erklärten, wenn sich deutsche Verleger nicht vorsehen, solches Gift dem Publikum feil zu bieten und anzupreisen, so würden wir bald schöne Früchte erleben.

Gutzkow erwiderte mit einer Erklärung in der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* vom 19. September (Auss. Beilage. Nr. 375), ohne sich aber auf die *Deutsche Revue* zu beziehen. Darauf erschien in Nr. 99 des *Literaturblattes* vom 28. September Menzels zweite Abfertigung Gutzkows. Als Antwort auf Menzels Streitartikel erschien dann am 6. Oktober Gutzkows Broschüre *Verteidigung gegen Menzel und Berichtigung einiger Urteile im Publikum* (Mannheim: Löwenthal). Auch hier ist Gutzkow durchaus ganz persönlich und erwähnt seine *Deutsche Revue* nur ganz nebenbei. Natürlich stritten auch andere Schriftsteller für Gutzkow. Viele dieser Artikel und Broschüren brachten die Frage der Konkurrenzfurcht zu Tage. Am 19. Oktober, in Nr. 107 seines *Literaturblattes*, übergab Menzel dann eine dritte Abfertigung Gutzkows der Öffentlichkeit und verteidigte sich gegen jene Anklage besonders. Er schrieb:

Ich habe diesen Kampf im Interesse der Religion, der Sitte und der vaterländischen Ehre angefangen, es ist nur eine Fortsetzung meiner früheren Kämpfe, die ich gegen weit bedeutendere Leute, in gleichem Interesse durchgefochten. Und nun wollen diese Knaben mir vorwerfen, ich bekämpfe sie nur aus Rivalität, weil ich kein anderes kritisches Journal aufkommen lassen wolle. Abgesehen davon, daß ich allezeit andere Journale neben mir das Glück deutscher Pressefreiheit ruhig habe genießen sehen und sogar immer bereit bin, mein kritisches Amt dem zu überlassen, dem die literarische Ehre Deutschlands so am Herzen liegen wird, wie mir—ist es überhaupt unsinnig, dem alten bewährten Kämpfer für bekannte Ideen, dem Manne, dem Herr Gutzkow seine kritische Konsequenz sogar zum Vorwurf macht, ein persönliches Interesse unterzuschieben.

Auf Menzels Anspielung hin, daß Gutzkow und Wienberg Deutschland mit Briefen und Aufforderungen auch an Menzels alte Gegner überschwemmten, um sie gegen ihn für ihre *Revue* zu gebrauchen, veröffentlichten Gutzkow und Wienberg dann folgende Erklärung in der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* (26. Oktober):

Die Unterzeichneten können nicht so grausam sein, von Herrn Menzel in Stuttgart, einem Manne der sich nur noch durch verzweifelte Konsequenz erhält, die plötzliche Zurücknahme seiner ästhetischen, politischen, historischen und religiösen Irrtümer zu verlangen. Noch einige Frist gestatten sie ihm, um seine früher gegen sie vorgebrachten Motive zu paraphrasieren. Lächelnd sehen sie zu, wie H. Menzel sich selbst als "dem alten bewährten Kämpfer" vertraulich auf die Schultern klopf, wie er durch Erwähnung des Herrn Dr. Kühne Zwiespalt in unsere Reihen bringen will und sich auf Schriften beruft, welche nur in unserem Interesse geschrieben sind. Worauf wir alle antworten, ist die Verunglimpfung eines unter dem Namen *Deutsche Revue* demnächst erscheinenden Journals, welches, wenn man Menzel Rodomontaden glauben dürfte, ohne anderweilige literarische Beihilfe bleiben würde, weil es von den Unterzeichneten ausginge. Wenn wir die empfangenen Zusagen der Herren Börne, Heine, Laube, Mundt, Veit, Varnhagen von Ense, Grabbe, Spazier, König, Kottenkamp,

Lewald, Kolloff, Zimmermann, Beurmann, G. Büchner und W. Schulz erwähnen, wenn wir auch Universitätsprofessoren wie Gans, Hotho, Schwenk, Ulrici, Rosenkranz, Fortlage, Babrik, Trendelenburg, Teil zu nehmen versprochen haben, wo wird sich Herr Menzel eine Vorstellung von dem Erfolge machen können, den wir trotz seiner Angriffe in der öffentlichen Meinung gewinnen werden. Gutzkow. Wienbarg.

Anläßlich einer Rezension zweier Bücher gegen Gutzkow äußerte Menzel dann nochmals seine Meinung und drückte, auf Gutzkows und Wienbargs Erklärung in der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* zurückkommend, seinen Zweifel über die Zusage zur Mitarbeiterschaft so vieler berühmter Männer an der Revue aus.

Nach Gutzkows öffentlicher Erklärung erschienen denn auch derartig viele Widerrufe in der *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, daß Cotta sich bewegen sah, diese Erklärungen als Annoncen anzusehen. Folgende Männer erklärten, niemals eine Mitarbeiterschaft zugesagt zu haben: die Professoren Ulrici, Hotho, Rosenkranz, Trendelenburg; ferner Varnhagen von Ense, Heinrich Laube und August Lewald, auch Heine und Börne erklärten (aber nicht durch die *Allgemeine Zeitung*) nie eine Zusage gegeben zu haben.⁴¹ Mundt sagte sich ebenfalls von einer Mitarbeiterschaft los, obwohl nicht auf eine direkte, öffentliche Art. Schon am 12. September hatte er sich in seinem *Zodiacus* scharf gegen die *Wally* ausgedrückt, obwohl er vorher im Sinne gehabt hatte, sich Gutzkow und Wienbarg anzuschließen. Am Tage seiner *Wally*rezension im *Zodiacus* schrieb er denn auch an Varnhagen: "Ich habe mich jetzt endlich entschlossen, meine Meinung über ihn [Gutzkow] unverholen drucken zu lassen, da aus einem Bündnis zwischen mir und jener Cotterie [dem jungen Deutschland] doch nichts herauskommen kann".⁴²

Wie oft Menzels Jähzorn im eigenen Hause, unbeobachtet von anderen, hervorgebrochen sein muß, zeigen die auf das *Literaturblatt zum Phönix* verweisenden Worte. Lange hatte er ihn vor der Öffentlichkeit zurückgehalten. Nun brach er los. Menzel sprach vom "Gift des Literaturblattes", d. h. von den Anfeindungen seiner Lehren durch Gutzkow. Zu behaupten, daß Menzel hier aus Konkurrenzfurcht spreche, heißt Menzel nicht verstehen. Für ihn, und für die deutsche Literatur, waren die Gutzkowschen Ideen Gift. Umgestalten wollte Menzel auch das Vaterland, aber nicht im Sinne der Jungdeutschen, die eine "Wiedereinsetzung des Fleisches" nur zu oft erwähnt hatten. Von der Unsittlichkeit der neuen Schule war Menzel überzeugt. Ihre Irreligiösität stand für ihn außer Zweifel. Er selbst aber war stark religiös, religiös im Sinne der Burschenschaftler, christlich deutsch.

Abgesehen von Angriffen auf sich selbst, hatte Menzel ansehen müssen, wie sein ehemaliger Schüler öffentlich in dessen *Vorrede zu*

⁴¹ Houben, *Zeitschriften des jungen Deutschlands*, I. Teil, S. 421-32.

⁴² Houben, *Verbotene Literatur* (Berlin 1928), II, 408.

Schleiermachers Luzinde althergebrachtes Christentum aufs bitterste herabsetzte. Wie muß es Menzel aufgebracht haben, wie muß es in ihm gewütet haben, als er sich gestehen mußte, daß auch Gutzkow zu dieser Fleischesschule gehörte und predigte: "Der Aufruf ist der: Schämt euch der Leidenschaft nicht, und nehmt das Sittliche nicht wie eine Institution des Staates! . . . Der einzige Priester, der die Herzen traue, sei ein entzückender Augenblick, nicht die Kirche mit ihrer Zeremonie und ihren gescheitelten Dienern". Wie empörend muß es auf Menzel gewirkt haben, als Gutzkow in derselben Vorrede ausrief: "Ach! hätte auch die Welt nie von Gott gewußt, sie würde glücklicher sein!"

Dazu kam dann die *Wally* und nach ihr die Ansage, daß diese von ihm aufs tiefste verpönte Schule ihre Lehren in einer Zeitschrift großen Stiles verbreiten wollte!

Da ließ es Menzel keine Ruhe mehr, und wenn er auch die "Edlen der Nation" anspricht, so meinte er nicht die Fürsten der Länder, sondern diejenigen, die noch edel dachten, und das hieß bei Menzel, diejenigen, die moralisch, sittlich, religiös, kurz, die deutsch dachten. So deutet auch F. Kainz falsch, wenn er schreibt: "Menzel betont in der kritischen Zeit fortwährend die staatsgefährliche and vaterländische Einstellung der Jungdeutschen".⁴⁸ Der Unterschied war eben, daß Menzel wirklich das Vaterland in Gefahr sah und glaubte, es mehr und mehr unter dem Einfluß des von ihm verachteten "französischen Liberalismus" geraten zu sehen.

Daß man gleich damals an Konkurrenzfurcht als Grund der harten Menzelschen Kritik dachte, ist selbstverständlich. Und daß Menzel manchem unbefangenen zukünftigen Mitarbeiter der *Revue* durch seine scharfe Polemik einen Schreck einjagte, soll nicht bestritten werden. Daß auch Menzel (aber nicht er allein) hier und da ins Persönliche überging, ist im Gewühle des Zwistes vielleicht doch auch zu verstehen.

Man sollte aber auch hier nicht nur den Menzel-Gegnern der damaligen Zeit glauben, sondern doch auch zu verstehen versuchen, ob Menzel es immerhin ehrlich gemeint haben könnte, als er schrieb, daß er im Interesse der Religion und Sitte und vaterländischen Ehre geschrieben habe. Daß er "allzeit andere Journale das Glück deutscher Pressefreiheit" neben sich hat genießen lassen, stand unbestritten da, bis seine Gegner ihm auch diese Tugend abschrieben.

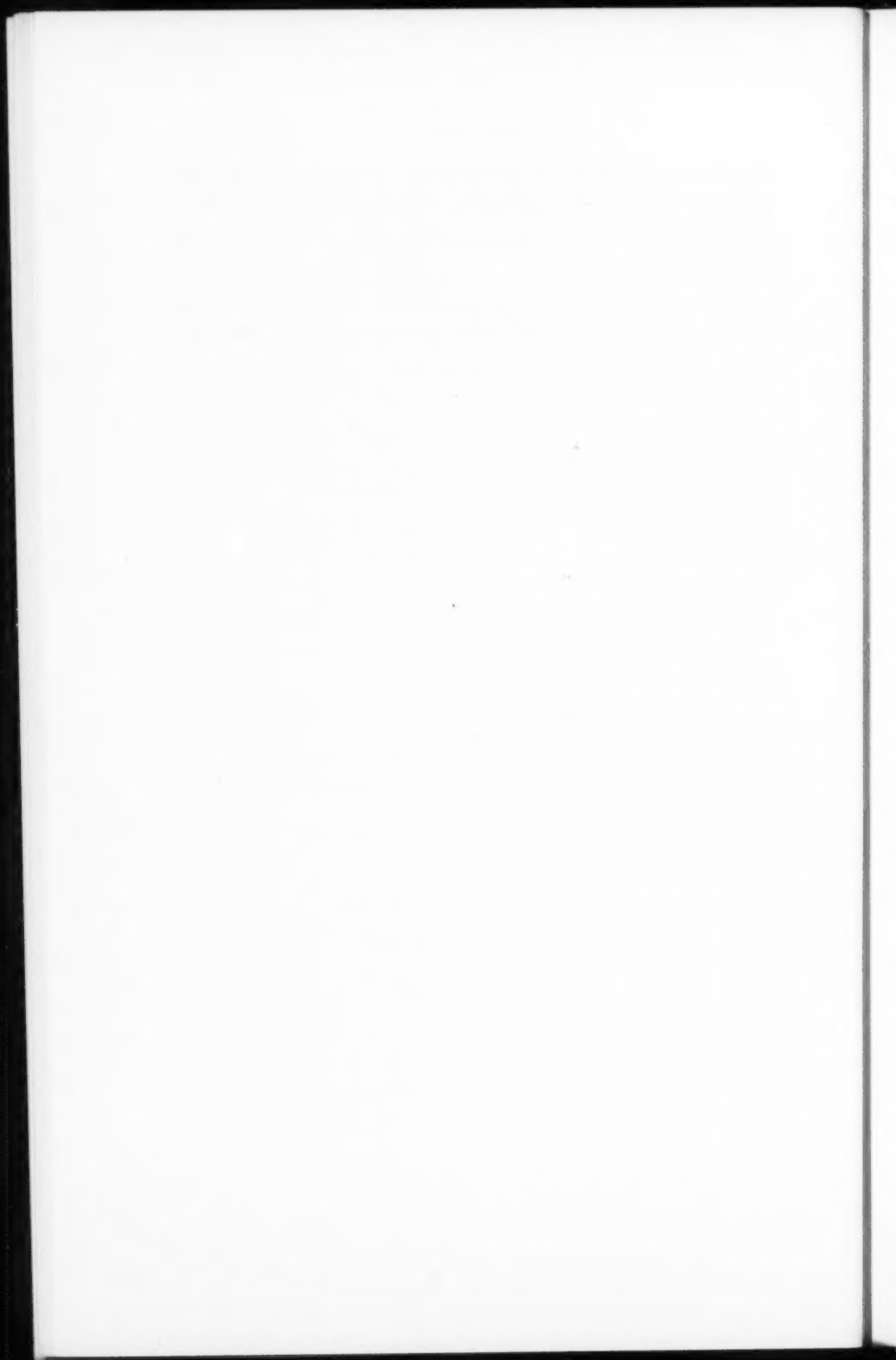
In dieser Arbeit hoffe ich wenigstens gezeigt zu haben, daß Menzel von Gutzkow nichts zu befürchten hatte, daß er, im Gegenteil, ihm und anderen Dichtern, willig geholfen hatte, daß aber durch äußere Einflüsse ein Verfall eingetreten war, der lediglich auf Lebensanschauungsgegensätzlichkeiten zurückzuführen ist, daß Gutzkow im

⁴⁸ F. Kainz, *op. cit.*, S. 43-44

privaten und öffentlichen Leben diesen Zwiespalt betonte, ein öffentliches Turnier mit Menzel nicht nur erwartete, sondern auch erzwang, und daß er dann, da er denn unerwarteterweise den Kürzeren dabei zog, die Anklage der Konkurrenzfurcht auf sich beruhen ließ, ja unterstützte.

Man könnte zum Schluß das Menzel-Wort anführen, das er Gutzkow in einer Erklärung im *Literaturblatt* entgegenschleuderte: "In No. 93 und 94 meines *Literaturblattes* steht mein Angriff gegen die irreligiöse und sittenlose Tendenz des Dr. Gutzkow. In No. 262 der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* steht seine Verteidigung — der Sache ? — Deutschland möge vergleichen und urteilen."

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF OLD SPANISH *APESGAR* "TO CATCH, TO PRESS, TO WEIGH"

By YAKOV MALKIEL

I

Spanish *apesgar*, chiefly known as a synonym of "agobiar, pesar, inclinar," is a word widely used throughout the Middle Ages, not infrequently occurring in classical literature up to the time of Nieremberg and Gracián, that is to say, as late as 1660, and possibly understood and even occasionally employed for a few more decades.¹ There is no indication that an attempt has since been made to revive it.² *Apesgar* served both as a transitive and as a reflexive verb.³ Of especial frequency was the occurrence of the past participle *apesgado*, easily converted into an adjective and then signifying "loaded down, sluggish, drowsy." Among related formations *apesgamiento*, *empesgar*, *pesga*, and *pesgo* deserve mention. Of these, the first is listed by Nebrija, can be documented from a few writers, and has been early designated as obsolete, implicitly by Covarrubias and explicitly by the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. The second, unknown to literary sources, has been recorded merely as a dialectalism in Salamanca.⁴ The third has been labeled by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (V, 243a) as a synonym of *peso* and *pesa* pertaining to the "estilo baxo"; it has again been perpetuated, both in a technical and a general sense, in the Salamanca area.⁵ *Pesgo* finally has been

¹ *Apesgar* is listed among the words common in Classical Spanish and now antiquated in T. Ximénez de Embrun y Val, *Lengua española en el siglo de oro de su literatura; cambios notables que ha sufrido i diferencias principales que la distinguen de como ahora comúnmente se usa* (Zaragoza, 1897), pp. 38, 84.

² It is not discussed in books dealing with incorrect or doubtful present-day usage such as M. de Toro y Gisbert, *Los nuevos derroteros del idioma* (Paris, 1918); M. de Saralegui y Medina, *Escarceos filológicos*, I-IV (Madrid, 1922-1928), and the like.

³ Information provided by some of the older dictionaries leads us to the assumption that *apesgarse* outlived *apesgar* in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See, for instance, E. de Echegaray, *Diccionario general etimológico*, I-V (Madrid, 1887-1889), and R. Barcia, *Primer diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, I-V (Barcelona, 1894). Other dictionaries suggest that the active and the reflexive varieties are equally obsolete; see R. J. Domínguez, *Diccionario nacional*, 13th ed., I-II (Madrid, 1875); J. Caballero, *Diccionario general de la lengua castellana*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1882).

⁴ J. de Lamano y Beneite, *El dialecto vulgar salmantino* (Salamanca, 1915), pp. 236, 406, explains that *apesgar* and *empesgar* are used without distinction, later records a special signification of *empesgar* "revestir con pez el interior de los pellejos y tinajas," and is consequently tempted to suggest the etymology **impico* (from *pir*).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 572: "La tabla que se pone sobre la masa del queso para que en virtud de la presión que sobre ella se hace suelte el suero; carga, molestia." *Pesga* is unknown to Juan Hidalgo's *Vocabulario de germanía*, nor is there a record of it in L. Beses' glossary of modern argot.

discovered by García de Diego in an early translation of Gordonio's medical treatise.⁶ Significantly, the word is absent from Catalan⁷ (though not from Valencian, which experienced a strong infiltration of Castilianisms),⁸ from Galician,⁹ and from Portuguese;¹⁰ this circumstance we will have to take into account in attempting to retrace the word to its etymon. There is little evidence of the survival of *apesgar* in the various peninsular,¹¹ Latin-American,¹² and other overseas territories where Spanish is spoken,¹³ with three notable exceptions presently to be discussed.

II

It is essential to find out what reflexes *apesgar* has left in the works of the older lexicographers.¹⁴ Alonso de Palencia (1490) has the following entry in his *Vocabulario universal*, fol. 266:

⁶ See V. García de Diego, *Contribución al diccionario hispánico etimológico* (RFE, Anejo II; Madrid, 1923), pp. 129-30.

⁷ See the historical dictionaries of Aguiló y Fuster, Balari y Jovany, A. M. Alcover-Fr. de B. Moll.

⁸ See J. Escrig y Martínez-C. Llombart, *Diccionario valenciano-castellano* (Valencia, 1887-1896), p. 182b.

⁹ See *Diccionario gallego-castellano por la R. Academia Gallega* (Coruña, 1913-), I, 195; and the dictionaries of M. Lugris Freire (1922; the subsequent edition was not available) and L. Carré-Alvarellos (1928, 1932).

¹⁰ See Santa Rosa de Viterbo's *Elucidário* (2nd ed., 1865); Fr. Domingos Vieira, *Grande Dicionário* (1871), and various word-lists by J. Leite de Vasconcelos and J. J. Nunes.

¹¹ See the glossaries by E. de Huidobro (1907), and G. A. García Lomas y García Lomas (1922) for La Montaña; F. Baráibar y Zamárraga (1903) for Alava; E. Arriaga y Ribero (1896) for Bilbao; P. de Mugica (1892) for La Montaña, Vizcaya, Aragon; B. Coll y Altabás (1901), L. V. López Puyoles and J. Valenzuela La Rosa (1901), J. Borao (1908), A. Kuhn (1935-1936) for Aragon; V. Ferraz y Castán (1934) for Ribagorza; J. López Barrera (1912) for Cuenca; A. Sevilla (1919) and P. Lemus y Rubio (1933) for Murcia; G. M. Vergara Martín (1921) for Segovia; J. Puyol y Alonso (1906) for León; F. Krüger (1923) for Sanabria; V. García Rey (1934) for Bierzo; B. Acevedo y Huelves and M. Fernández y Fernández (1932) for Western Asturias.

¹² The sources consulted include, for the entire territory: A. Malaret, *Diccionario de americanismos*, 2nd ed. (San Juan, P. R., 1931); C. Bayo, *Manual del lenguaje criollo de Centro y Sudamérica* (Madrid, 1931); for Argentina: D. Granada (1890), T. Garzón (1910), L. Segovia (1911); for Chile: Z. Rodríguez (1875), F. P. del Solar (1876), A. Echeverría i Reyes (1900), J. Vicuña Cifuentes (1910), F. J. Cavada (1910), M. A. Román (1901-1918), J. T. Medina (1928); for Colombia: R. Uribe (1887), L. Tascón (s.d.), R. J. Cuervo (1914), E. Robledo (1934); for Costa Rica: C. Gagini (1919); for Cuba: E. Pichardo (1862), M. Macías (1885), C. Suárez (1921), F. Ortiz (1923), J. M. Dihigo (1928); for Ecuador: C. R. Tobar (1900), A. Mateus (1933); for Guatemala: A. B. Jáuregui (1892); for Honduras: A. Membréño (1912); for Mexico: F. Ramos i Duarte (1896), D. Rubio ["Ricardo del Castillo"] (1917); for Peru: J. de Arona [pseud.] (1884), R. Palma (1896); for Puerto Rico: A. Malaret (1937).

¹³ See L. and A. Millares (1924) for Canary Islands, W. E. Retana (1921) for the Philippine Islands.

¹⁴ The writer was unable to consult the three glossaries of the late fourteenth century contained in A. Castro, *Glosarios latino-españoles de la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1936).

"Margidus es cansado o *apesgado*."¹⁵ Nebrija likens *apesgar* to "gravo, aggravo, premo, deprimio" and *apesgamiento* to "aggravatio, depressio." For the sixteenth century,¹⁶ we have the testimony of Christóbal de las Casas (1570): *apesgar* "contrapesare," *apesgamiento* "contrapeso,"¹⁷ and of Percival-Minsheu (1599): *apesgar* "to presse downe, to overbeare, to oversway, to aggravate"; *apesgado* "pressed downe, weighed downe, thrust downe"; *apesgamiento* "pressing downe, weighing downe, greiving, aggravating."¹⁸ In the early seventeenth century Covarrubias has the following explanation to offer: "*Apesgar*: es hazer una cosa peso colgando de otra; y assi se dize de peso. *Apesgado* solemos llamar al cargado de espaldas, que con la edad o enfermedad anda corbo y aguviado, como si truxesse sobre sí una pesa."¹⁹ Bilingual dictionaries of this period all provide abundant information on the word under study. Thus Oudin (1607) translates *apesgar* by "affaisser, presser, agraver, appesantir, bailler un contrepoids, grever, accravanter, peser, mettre à fonds," *apesgado* by "appesanti, agravé, abbaissé, affaïssé," *apesgamiento* by "contrepoids, pesanteur, affaïssement, appesantisement."²⁰ His contemporary G. Vittori (1606-1616) provides the same translations into French (a curious case of plagiarism which deserves special study) and suggests "opprimere, oppressare, aggravare; oppresso, gravato, cariccato; pesezza, gravezza, oppressione" as the respective Italian equivalents.²¹ Franciosini (1636) interprets *apesgar* as "attacarsi a una cosa acciò pesi più."²² A few years later, the anonymous *Grande diccionario y thesoro de las tres lenguas* (Antwerp, 1640) renders *appesantir* by "agravar, ser pesado, apesgar" and *appesantisement* by "apesgamiento." The word can likewise be quoted from A. de La Porte (1659)²³ and J. Howell (1660).²⁴ As we come to the eighteenth century, the word tends to

¹⁵ Quoted from García de Diego, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ No traces of *apesgar* were discovered in R. Fernández de Santaella, *Vocabularium ecclesiasticum* (Zaragoza, 1562); in A. Sánchez de la Ballesta, *Diccionario de vocablos castellanos* (Salamanca, 1587); in Ambrosii Calepini *Dictionarium* (Antwerp, 1572).

¹⁷ C. de las Casas, *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* (Seville, 1570). The same information is provided by the following editions (Seville, 1583, and Venice, 1587).

¹⁸ R. Percival-J. Minsheu, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (London, 1599). Repeated in the subsequent edition (London, 1623).

¹⁹ Quoted from the second edition of *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1673-1674).

²⁰ C. Oudin, *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española* (Paris, 1607). Repeated in the subsequent edition (Paris, 1616).

²¹ G. Vittori, *Tesoro de las tres lenguas* (Geneva, 1606-1616).

²² L. Franciosini, *Vocabolario italiano e spagnolo* ([Geneva], 1636).

²³ A. de La Porte, *Den nieuwen Dictionaris oft Schadt der Duytse en Spaensche Talen* (Antwerp, 1659): *apesgar* "pzamen, beswaeren, sincken"; *apesgado* "gepzaemt, beswaert, vernedert"; *apesgamiento* "pzaminghe, swaerheyt."

²⁴ J. Howell, *Lexicon Tetraglotton, an English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary* (London, 1660), s.v. "to weigh down."

disappear from the less comprehensive lexicons, some shadings are no longer mentioned, and a new connotation is occasionally recorded, to wit, the reference to corpulence. Some of these changes are apparent in the information provided by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (I, 336b) in spite of its close adherence to the text of Covarrubias:

apesgar: hacer una cosa peso, colgando de otra: como quando el hombre va mui cargado, o levanta un gran peso, se dice que le apesga;

apesgarse: agravarse y ponerse mui pesado: lo que con propiedad se dice de los cuerpos vivientes, en especial de los hombres que engordan demasiado y con dificultad se mueven y caminan; Lat. gravari, degravari, desidere;

apesgamiento: el efecto causado por lo grave y pesado de una cosa colgada y pendiente, que sea de gran tamaño. . . .

We are not surprised, then, to hear from Fr. Cormon that "*apesgarse* . . . se dit des corps animés et surtout des hommes qui acquièrent un embonpoint,"²⁵ or to learn from J. D. Wagener that *apesgarse* means "schwer werden, dick und fett werden."²⁶ The word is listed by P. Pineda,²⁷ M. de Larramendi,²⁸ and Fr. Cañes,²⁹ but appears to be absent from M. de Valbuena;³⁰ its exclusion from several editions of Francisco Sobrino's famous *Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas española y francesa* may be interpreted as a symptom of its increasing obsolescence.³¹ As a mere curiosity we may quote the opinion of Terreros toward the end of the eighteenth century;³² this lexicographer, without adding anything of significance to the statements of his predecessors, gave his definition a somewhat philosophical tinge: "*Apesgamiento*: la acción de apesgarse o dejarse caer como por su propio peso; y se acomoda a las potencias y sentidos, para explicar la cortedad de aquéllas y lo terrenal de éstos."

III

If in spite of slight semantic shifts the lexicographers of all times are agreed on the fundamental connection of *apesgar* with *peso*, the same may be said of the etymologists. Cabrera does not seem

²⁵ Fr. Cormon, *Sobrino aumentado o nuevo diccionario de las tres lenguas española, francesa y latina*, I-III (Antwerp, 1775-1776).

²⁶ J. D. Wagener, *Diccionario de faltriquera o sea portátil español-alemán y alemán-español*, I-II (Berlin, 1808).

²⁷ P. Pineda, *A New Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* (London, 1740).

²⁸ M. de Larramendi, *Diccionario trilingüe del castellano, bascuence y latin*, I-III (San Sebastian, 1745).

²⁹ Fr. Cañes, *Diccionario español-latino-arábiga*, I-III (Madrid, 1787).

³⁰ M. de Valbuena, *Diccionario universal latino-español* (Madrid, 1793).

³¹ Francisco Sobrino, *Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas española y francesa*; the editions Brussels, 1721, and Brussels, 1744, have been consulted.

³² P. Esteban de Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes* (Madrid, 1786-1793).

to have made any pertinent statement,³³ but Monlau,³⁴ Gayangos,³⁵ Lanchetas,³⁶ Martínez Abellán,³⁷ Aguado,³⁸ Alemany Bolufer³⁹ all accepted the verdict of the Academy in the early eighteenth century that *apesgar* is a cognate of *pesga*, *pesa*, *peso*, and *pesar*. Outside of Spain Diez⁴⁰ and Förster subscribed to this theory,⁴¹ as did Meyer-Lübke in his *Romanische Grammatik*⁴² and in the third,⁴³ if not in the first, edition of his dictionary (where the word had been altogether omitted, perhaps because it was lacking in Körting's *LRW*), and also H. B. Richardson.⁴⁴ Quite recently V. García de Diego and G. Sachs declared themselves almost satisfied with the base **pensicāre*; they did, however, express certain doubts, the former concerning the connotation, the latter concerning the derivation of the word.⁴⁵ It is, indeed, difficult to account for the "infix" *-g-*; some Latin verbs in *-icāre* have survived into Spanish,⁴⁶ yet the number of new formations in *-gar* in the vernacular is very limited, and some of them permit of a different interpretation.⁴⁷

Against this explanation another theory can be advanced, which, if proven to be correct, would eliminate the doubts previously stated, release us from the necessity of operating with a hypothetical base,

³³ R. Cabrera, *Diccionario de etimologías de la lengua castellana*, I-II (Madrid, 1837).

³⁴ The latest reprint of the *Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Buenos Aires, 1941).

³⁵ See the glossary appended to *Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV* (B.A.E., LI; Madrid, 1860).

³⁶ R. Lanchetas, *Gramática y vocabulario de Gonzalo de Berceo* (Madrid, 1900), p. 150; *idem*, *Morfología del verbo castellano* (Madrid, 1897), p. 67, with absurd theories concerning the suffix *-gar*.

³⁷ P. Martínez Abellán, *Diccionario general de ortografía, homología y régimen*, I-III (Madrid, [1910]), retraces the word to Low Latin *pesagium*.

³⁸ J. M. Aguado, *Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz* (Madrid, 1929), p. 244, reconstructs the impossible base **adpessicare*.

³⁹ J. Alemany Bolufer, *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Barcelona, 1917); see also *Tratado de la formación de palabras en la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1920), p. 143.

⁴⁰ F. Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen* (Bonn, 1853), s.v. *peso*. The theory is maintained throughout the subsequent editions.

⁴¹ P. Förster, *Spanische Sprachlehre* (Berlin, 1880), p. 227.

⁴² See *Romanische Formenlehre* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 608.

⁴³ *REW*³, No. 6391, s.v. *pe(n)sāre*. Significantly, Meyer-Lübke regarded the Spanish word as an offshoot of the semantic branch "drücken" rather than "wiegen."

⁴⁴ H. B. Richardson, *An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor* (New Haven, 1930).

⁴⁵ See the glossary appended to his edition of *Libro de los Caballos* (RFE, Anejo XXIII; Madrid, 1936), s.v.

⁴⁶ See Meyer-Lübke, *Romanische Grammatik*, II, 607-608; V. García de Diego, *Elementos de gramática histórica castellana* (Burgos, 1914), p. 202; F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), p. 157; J. Alemany Bolufer, *Tratado de la formación de palabras en la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1920), p. 143; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1941), p. 328.

⁴⁷ See the writer's article on the etymology of Sp. *sosegar*, *Philological Quarterly*, XXIII (1944), 297-306.

and integrate the development of the seemingly isolated Old Spanish verb into the general framework of Latin and Romance. This new theory is based on the assumption that the signification of the word has not yet been accurately defined; that some of the older texts seem to suggest the meaning of "trapping, catching, strangling, squeezing, pressing" for *apesgar*, and that vestiges of this connotation have been discovered in peninsular and American dialects. Once that much is granted, it will be necessary to come to a conclusion regarding the relationship of *apesgar* and *empesgar*. If, counter to the current opinion, we agree to consider the latter as the basic form, we will be able to connect it with *empelgar* "to stop the water of the mill," used in Portuguese dialects,⁴⁸ the common idea being that of "cutting off." Comparison of *empesgar* and *empelgar* immediately recalls cases like Sp. *juzgar* beside Ptg. *julgar*, Sp. *-azgo* beside Leon. *-algo* and suggests as the only possible base the well-known *impedicāre* (REW³ 4296), which underlies Fr. *empêcher* and many other Romance (including Rumanian) formations. The argument that *impedicāre* should have yielded **empedgar* or **empesgar* rather than *empesgar* (or its variant form *apesgar*) can be invalidated by the assumption of an early contamination with *peso* "weight" and especially *apesar* "to weigh," documented in Old Spanish,⁴⁹ known from modern dialects,⁵⁰ and present in other Romance languages.⁵¹ The correctness of this view is borne out precisely by the semantic development of the word as illustrated with quotations from dictionaries and authors; the contamination was brought about by the development of the consonant cluster *-dg-* > *-zg-* in the late Middle Ages, but aside from the phonological process the general idea of "hindering, impeding, obstructing" inherent both in "trapping" and "burdening" may have provided a felicitous association which facilitated the further shift *-zg-* > *-sg-*. All these contentions will have to be demonstrated in the light of abundant evidence.

IV

Apesgar and *apesgamiento* can be documented from the material assembled in García de Diego's *Contribución*, in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, and the *Diccionario Histórico*, increased by gleanings from the writer's own readings. There is reason to assume that the two words are not recorded prior to Gonzalo de Berceo.⁵²

⁴⁸ Meyer-Lübke fails to indicate his source of information in quoting this word in *Romanische Formenlehre*, p. 608.

⁴⁹ See *Diccionario Histórico* for two quotations.

⁵⁰ See P. Lemus y Rubio, *Aportaciones para la formación del vocabulario panocho o del dialecto de la Huerta de Murcia* (Murcia, 1933), p. 25; A. Echeverría i Reyes, *Voces usadas en Chile* (Santiago, 1900), p. 127.

⁵¹ See REW³, No. 544.

⁵² See V. R. B. Oelschläger, *A Medieval Spanish Word List* (Madison, [1940]), s.v.

Estoria de Sant Millán

Andando por las sierras, su cayado fincando,
Cumpliendo so officio, sus obeias guiando,
Fuelo de fiera guisa el suenno *apesgando*,
Apremió la cabeça, fosse adormitando;⁵³

Vida de Santa Oria

La madre de la duenna, cosa de Dios amada,
[D]el duelo de la fixa estaba muy lazada,
Non dormiera la noche, estava *apesgada*,
Lo que ella comia non era fasscas nada;⁵⁴

Cálila e Digna

Ayuntáronse e arrancaron la rred, e leváronla en alto por el ayre. Et vió el
caçador lo que fixieron, e sigujólas por las aver, e non se desfuzió dellas, e
cuydó que luego a poca de ora les *apesgara* la rred e cayeran;

Et el pavón, que es la cola lo que mejor que ha en el, *pésgale* alguna cosa
tanto que cuando los buscan tómanlos mas aína;

El ome valiente so la grant carga, maguer que le *apesgue*, levántase;⁵⁵

Libro de Apolonio

Nasscí de madre dura, sso mueyell como lana,
Apésgame el río que sso por mí liviana;
Quando prenyada sseyo semeio fasscas rana;⁵⁶

Libro de los Caballos (an Old Leonese veterinary treatise)

Si el cavallo come çevada nueva o mucha o otra legunde que semeie çevada
e non lo mascare bien e finchare con ella assí que la c[a]lor del estómago
non la podiere cozer por grand finchamiento, *apésgal* el vientre e fázel todo
contorçer, e muchas vegadas echar e levantar;⁵⁷

Libro de Buen Amor

Como avja el buen ome sobra mucho comido,
Con la mucha vianda mucho vino ha bevido,
Estava *apesgado* e estava adormido,
Por todo el su Real entró el apellido;⁵⁸

Crónica de D. Pedro Niño

E otrossí las armas sobre cubierta *apesgan* mucho la galera;⁵⁹

⁵³ Stanza 10 of the edition by F. Janer. The edition of the poem by C. Carroll Marden from a new manuscript in *Cuatro Poemas de Berceo* (RFE, Anejo IX; Madrid, 1928) shows insignificant variants.

⁵⁴ Stanza 162 of the edition by F. Janer. The emendation of the second line of the quatrain is due to collation with C. Carroll Marden's text.

⁵⁵ The first passage corresponds to lines 30-33 of chapter v in *L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna*, ed. C. G. Allen (Macon, 1906) and has been cited by Carroll Marden in his glossary to *Apolonio*. The second passage has been copied from García de Diego's *Contribución*. The third passage begins on line 128 of chapter iii in Allen's edition.

⁵⁶ Stanza 514a-c of the edition by C. Carroll Marden (Elliott Monographs, XI-XII [Princeton-Paris, 1917-1922]).

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 95, line 14.

⁵⁸ Stanza 1100 in J. Ducamin's edition. Another old example which the writer was unable to check has been contributed by C. Carroll Marden: Scio, II, Kings, xiii, 25 (see glossary to *Libro de Apolonio*).

⁵⁹ Quoted from *Diccionario Histórico*.

P. Guillén de Segovia, *Los Siete Salmos Penitenciales*

Maldades que soberviaron
al que yerra,
mi cabeça hasta tierra
inclinaron,
sobre mí se *apesgaron*
con gran peso;
a locura mi mal seso
sojuzgaron;⁶⁰

G. Herrera, *Agricultura general*

Cuando hay alguno *apesgamiento* de sangre;⁶¹

El Baladro del Sabio Merlín

Que so esta tierra ay una grande agua, e so aquella agua están dos dragones
que no veen nada. . . Quando sienten el agua pesada que *apesga* sobre ellos,
rebuélvense, y el agua represa;⁶²

Gordonio, *Tratado de medicina*

Tiene *apesgamiento* et agraviamiento et amargura de boca;⁶³

Angeles, *Obras místicas*

San Agustín hace gran caso de los pecados veniales y los llama granos de
arena que *apesgan* el alma;

Oh, qué gran peso el del pecado, que así *apesga* las almas para que no suban
a buscar su esfera;

Queda el alma como *apesgada* y cautiva, tanto más y miserable cuanto antes
más feliz y más dichosa;⁶⁴

Luis de Granada, *Libro de la oración y meditación*

Mirad no se carguen y *apesguen* nuestros corazones con demasiados comerres
y beberes;⁶⁵

Cabrera, *Consideraciones sobre todos los Evangelios de la Cuaresma*

Mis pecados han sobrepujado a mi razón y como carga pesada se *apesgan*
sobre mí;⁶⁶

Mariana, *Historia de España*

Estaba mui *apesgado* y disforme por la mucha gordura de su cuerpo;⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Appears as No. 26 in *Cancionero General de H. del Castillo*, see edition published by Soc. Bibl. Esp., No. XXI of the set (Madrid, 1882).

⁶¹ Quoted from *Diccionario Histórico*, whose compilers do not appear to have used the *editio princeps* of 1513.

⁶² Quoted from the reprint of the edition Seville, 1535, by A. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Libros de Caballerías (N.B.A.E., VI, XI; Madrid, 1907-1908)*, I, 17. As K. Pietsch has demonstrated, the original translation on which this print is based may go back to the fourteenth century.

⁶³ Quoted from the *Diccionario Histórico*.

⁶⁴ All three examples are reproduced from the *Diccionario Histórico*.

⁶⁵ Quoted from the *Diccionario de Autoridades*.

⁶⁶ Cited from the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. The work was published posthumously in 1601; the author died three years before.

⁶⁷ The text, written in 1601, is quoted from the *Diccionario de Autoridades*.

Cervantes, *Persiles y Sigismunda*

*Apesgábale el cuello un rosario, cuyos padrenuestros eran mayores que algunas balas de las con que juegan los muchachos al argolla;*⁶⁸

Nieremberg

Lo qual no haría fácilmente si fuera su cuerpo basto y *apesgado*;

Porque el demonio que le incitó al hurto va sentado sobre el cuello del miserable y le va *apesgando* y apremiando mucho;⁶⁹

B. Gracián

Las abejas si han de passar volando por alguna región airosa, afirman sus cuerpos con unas piedrecitas *apesgadas* en los pies;⁷⁰

Fué cosa notable que quando a otros, en llegando, les amarravan fuertemente, sin dexarles libertad ni para dar un passo, cargándoles de grillos y de cadenas, a éste al punto que llegó le jubilaron de una que al pie arrastrava y le *apesgava* de modo que no le permitía echar un buelo.⁷¹

The evidence of the preceding examples tends to show that *apesgar* could mean "to weigh down" as early as the thirteenth century. In the medical treatises the word appears to have signified "to obstruct" (either digestion or the circulation of blood). Finally, as a term of huntsmanship, from *Calila e Digna* down to *El Criticón*, it was clearly meant to stand for "trapping, catching in a net; fettering with chains and shackles." This latter connotation, which not a single dictionary registers, we may well suspect to be basic both because it is recorded at an early date and because, as is known to every student of semantics, the development of a technical into a general term is by far more common than the reverse process.

V

Our theory appears well-founded in the light of dialectal vestiges of *apesgar*. It will be remembered that altogether three reflexes of the word were found. The first is *apesgar* (beside *empesgar*) "to press," used in Salamanca;⁷² the connotation of this regionalism does not seem to provide a conclusive argument in favor of or

⁶⁸ The writer owes knowledge of this passage to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, but the sentence is quoted from the text as established in Schevill-Bonilla's edition of *Obras completas*, IV, 59.

⁶⁹ Both examples are quoted from the *Diccionario de Autoridades*.

⁷⁰ The first example is extracted from the *Diccionario de Autoridades*; the second occurs in *El Criticón*, ed. M. Romero-Navarro (Philadelphia, 1938-1941), II, 124.

⁷¹ In view of the present deplorable state of Spanish lexicology, all information must be regarded as fragmentary. It can be stated that *apesgar* is absent from *Fuero Jusgo*, *Rimado de Palacio*, *Don Quijote*, and the works of Góngora, on the basis of the vocabularies by V. Fernández Llera, M. A. Zeitlin (unpublished; typescript in the Library of the University of California), J. Cejador y Frauca, and B. Alemany y Selfa, respectively. In an effort to provide additional documentation, numerous word lists appended to recent editions of older books have been consulted without success.

⁷² Lamano y Beneite, *op. cit.*, p. 406: "hacer presión sobre el queso, acceituna."

against our contention. The second is *apiescar* in the "bable" dialect of Eastern Asturias;⁷³ the word is explained by A. Rato y Hevia as signifying "xugar a la pescar [*read al apiescar*]; quédase un, tápeni los güeyos i dempués vozénlu i destápase y cuerre pa ataios y coielos y apiescálos," which, literally translated, is tantamount to: "Quédase uno, tápenle los ojos y después llámanlo y corre para atajarlos y cogerlos y apesgarlos (i.e. agarrarlos)."⁷⁴ The third and most convincing piece of evidence is the discovery by F. J. Santamaría of *apesgar* "agarrar, atrapar una cosa" in the Mexican province Tabasco.⁷⁵ In a subsequent publication, Santamaría defines this provincialism as "apercollar";⁷⁶ also, he quotes a Chilean term *apescollar*, which may represent a blend of *apercollar* and *apesgar*, but which we prefer to discount because it permits of yet another interpretation.⁷⁷

Our contention that *apesgar* is but a variant form of *empesgar* < *impedicāre* is further confirmed by the existence in Old Spanish of a formation *apedgar* "apear, medir, deslindar."⁷⁸ In Latin literature (Plautus,⁷⁹ Ovid,⁸⁰ Vergil,⁸¹ Apuleius⁸²) *pedica*, to be sure, invariably signified "snare," but in early Romance the word is supposed to have experienced an unusual extension of meaning,⁸³ so that we should not be surprised to encounter offshoots of this word-family with widely varying connotations. In our argumentation OSp. *apedgar* serves as an important link; it seems to suggest an early

⁷³ Apolinar de Rato y Hevia, *Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables* (Madrid, 1891), p. 13.

⁷⁴ *Apesgar* is absent from the word list of A. W. Munthe, *Anteckningar om folkmälet i en trakt af Vestra Asturien* (Upsala, 1887).

⁷⁵ F. J. Santamaría, *El provincialismo tabasqueño* (Mexico, 1921), p. 120.

⁷⁶ F. J. Santamaría, *Diccionario general de americanismos*, I-III (Mexico, 1942), I, 115.

⁷⁷ A blend of *cuello* and *pescuezo* may be involved.

⁷⁸ For quotations from Alfonso el Sabio, *El Espéculo*, and from *Bul. del Orden de Alcántara*, see *Diccionario Histórico*, I, 651a. See also *Documentos lingüísticos de España*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1919), No. 208 (Osma, A.D. 1212), for illustration of *apedgar* and *apedgador*.

⁷⁹ See Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, II, 301: "Qui advorsum stimulos . . . numellas *pedicas* boias."

⁸⁰ See Deferrari-Barry-McGuire, *A Concordance of Ovid* (Washington, 1939), s.v.: "Retia cum *pedicis* laqueosque artesque dolosas / tollite."

⁸¹ See Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1939), p. 760.

⁸² Reference to five passages is made by Oldfather-Canter-Parry, *Index Apuleianus*, p. 312. See also Ernout-Meillet, *loc. cit.*, and Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 8th ed., s.v.

⁸³ See REW⁷³, Nos. 6347, 6348, 6352 (which should all have been treated under one number). Noteworthy reflexes are *pielga* < *pedica* in Asturias and Salamanca, Ptg. *pega* and *peguilho* "obstacle" (as against Ptg. *pejo*, believed to be borrowed from French); Cat. *petja* "track," Ptg. *pegada* "trail"; Span. *piego*, Salam. and San. *pielgo* "bag for wine or oil" (Meyer-Lübke explains: "Teil von der Haut eines Tieres, der den Fuß bedeckte und gewöhnlich zum Mundstück eines Schlauches gebraucht wird"); Ptg. *pegão* "buttress of an arch."

date for the genesis of **appedicāre*⁸⁴ and it provides the proof that *apesgar* instead of **apezgar* is the product of the contamination of the *pedica* stem with OSp. *peso*. The shift *-dg-* > **-zg-*, whose incipient stage must have preceded and indeed occasioned the contamination, need not be discussed at any length, since it has been the subject of numerous studies by phoneticians,⁸⁵ phonologists,⁸⁶ and dialectologists.⁸⁷ The fact that of the two prefixes *em-* seems to prevail in the West (Portugal, Leon) and *a-* in the Center is not accidental; compare Sp. *ahorcar*, *avergonzarse* with Ptg. *enforçar*, *envergonhar-se* and many similar cases.⁸⁸ Thus semantic, morphological, and phonological considerations do not hinder us from recognizing Ptg. *empelgar*, Leon. *empesgar*, Sp. *apesgar* as a group of closely related formations, offsprings of Lat. *impedicāre* and cognates of Fr. *empêcher*,⁸⁹ which, incidentally, penetrated as a loanword into the peninsular dialects.⁹⁰

VI

Further problems of interest in connection with the chosen word are its occurrence in some and absence from other Judaeo-Spanish

⁸⁴ There is, of course, no way of saying whether such a derivative existed in the Roman period. *Impedicāre* is documented in *ThLL*, VII, 528, from Ammianus: "Advocati si quem intra retia ceperint, cassibus mille impedicant"; and from *Leges Burgundionum*: "Si impedicato caballo . . . pedicam tulerit."

⁸⁵ On the difference between the phonemes represented by *z* in *juzgar* and by *d* in *admirar*, see T. Navarro Tomás, "Rehilamiento," *RFE*, XXI (1934), 274-79; on the pronunciation of *juzgar* in Chile, see *El español en Chile: trabajos de Rodolfo Lenz, Andrés Bello y Rodolfo Oroz*, ed. A. Alonso and R. Lida (*BDHA*, VI; Buenos Aires, 1940), pp. 124, 133, 252.

⁸⁶ See G. Baist, *Die spanische Sprache*, in *Gröber's Grundriss*, 2nd ed., I, 904; A. Zauner, *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 51; E. Gorra, *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini* (Milan, 1898), p. 52; Hanssen, *Gramática histórica*, pp. 64-65; García de Diego, *Elementos*, p. 47; Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, p. 163. In *Orígenes del español*, only the development of *triticum* (p. 321) appears to have been discussed. Of considerable interest in connection with the proposed etymology is Menéndez Pidal's statement (*Manual*, p. 131, n. 1) that *radicata* yielded *radgada* in Alphonsine prose and is perpetuated in *Rasgada* (place-name, near Santander); this local development of *-dg-* to *-sg-*, however, is not comparable to our problem, because of chronological differences and because of the co-existence in Old Spanish of *apedgar* and *apesgar*.

⁸⁷ See A. Alonso in *BDHA*, I, 168-69, 178-79, 234, 247, 451, 456, and P. Henríquez Ureña, *BDHA*, IV, 137, 221, 222, 293.

⁸⁸ On the relationship between these two prefixes, see the writer's "Atristar-entristecer: Adjectival Verbs in Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan," *Studies in Philology*, XXXVIII (1941), 429-61.

⁸⁹ E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1928); O. Bloch-W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1932); A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1938) are all agreed that *empêcher* reflects *impedicāre*; on divergent views of older etymologists, see *REW*³, No. 4296.

⁹⁰ On *empachar* and *despachar*, see L. Feiler [-Sachs], *RFE*, XXIII (1936), 190-92.

dialects;⁹¹ the relationship between certain branches of the *impicāre* and *impedicāre* families;⁹² and the classification of a variety of derivatives from *pedica* in recently explored Catalan dialects.⁹³ We must be satisfied if we have succeeded in providing the evidence that *apesgar* and *empesgar*, though at an advanced stage related to *peso* "weight" and materially affected by this association in their phonological and semantic growth, nevertheless fundamentally meant "to ensnare." They seem indeed to proceed from that colorful and expressive language of shepherds and hunters which, as is felt more strongly every day, is at the bottom of the Latin stock of the Spanish lexicon.

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⁹¹ *Apezgar* "ser pesado," *apezgamiento* "pesadez" are listed by J. Benoliel, *Bol. R. Acad. Esp.*, XIV (1927), 572. No traces of the word family appear in the word-lists of M. A. Luria (*RH*, LXXIX) and M. Gaspar Remiro (*BRAE*, I-V). On *pesgado* "heavy," see L. Wiener, *Mod. Phil.*, I, 207, and I. González-Llubera, *Coplas de Yocef* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 9, n. 29.

⁹² In the word family of *pix* "pitch," the older derivatives show a -g- and the more recent derivatives a -z- element; compare *nariz* and *narigudo*, *nuez* and *nogal*, *perdis* and *perdigal*, *vez* and *vegada*. Thus, in reference to Noah's ark, the Judaeo-Spanish Bible translations of Ferrara and Constantinople use *empezar* beside *empegar*; see M. G. Remiro, *BRAE*, IV (1917), 328. Such doublets must have existed in the old peninsular dialects and account for such crosses as *empesgar* "to pitch," documented by Lamano y Bencite from Salamanca and by Meyer-Lübke (*Rom. Gramm.*, II, 608) from Portuguese. Whether *apedgar* may to some extent have merged with or influenced *apegar* (or Galician *apedar* "ahorcar") is a question requiring special study. Yet another blend seems to be *pisgada*; see *El Libro de la vida de Barlan e del Rrey Josapha*, ed. G. Moldenhauer (Halle, 1929), fol. 131^v; compare *pesgada*, *ibid.*, fol. 211^r, and *pisada*, *ibid.*, fols. 131^v (var.) and 211^r (var.).

⁹³ See A. M. Alcover-Fr. de B. Moll, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (Palma de Mallorca, 1930-), I, 729b: *apetgegar* "pitjar massa una cosa" (Montblanch); I, 733b: *apitjar* "pitjar"; *Diccionari Aguiló*, VI, 131b: *petja* "huella, rastro"; *petjada* "huella, pisada"; *petjar* "trepitjar, pisar," e.g., "cami petjat de pocs."

EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN AS A DRAMATIST

By J. HORACE NUNEMAKER

The Condesa de Pardo Bazán (1852-1921) stands preëminent as a novelist. Her name and fame have been spread far and wide as symbols of excellence in the novel, realistic and naturalistic. The few critics who have written adversely of her work in that genre are far outnumbered and outweighed by her enthusiastic admirers.

In spite of what seems an almost ominous silence in regard to her dramatic writing, a volume entitled *Teatro* will be found among her *Obras completas*.¹ It may be that her extraordinary success in the novel impelled her to write for the theater, if only experimentally. Her dramas would lead us to believe, rather, that she was in dead earnest in her dramatic writing. She was sure of herself in this new effort,² however much her critics were equally sure that she was barking up the wrong tree. But she did not stay with the drama; in fact, the last period of her life was barren in comparison with the almost feverish activity that characterized her early successes. It would not be fair to say that her failure to win favor with her drama was responsible for her literary retirement, but this fact must certainly be taken into account as a contributing factor.

It may almost be said that no one reads her plays or ever read them, and that few persons ever saw them performed, if the dearth of critical opinion of her drama is a fair criterion for judgment. Manuals of literature, special studies of her life and work, and introductions to textbook editions of her work fail even to take notice of her dramatic effort.³ A few authors and editors of such

¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas*, 47 vols. (Madrid, 1888-1922). *Teatro* is vol. 35.

² Undertaken in January, 1906, long after the acclaim with which her *Los Pazos de Ulloa* (1886) and *La madre naturaleza* (1887) were received. Her monologues, however, are earlier: 1898 and 1904.

³ I have examined the following in this connection, none of which even mentions her drama: G. T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Chicago, 1925 and 1936); J. D. M. Ford, *Main Currents of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1919); M. Romera-Navarro, *Historia de la literatura española* (Boston, 1928); F. Blanco García, *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1909-1912); A. Salcedo Ruiz, *La literatura española*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1915-1917); A. González Blanco, *Los Contemporáneos*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1906-1910) and *Historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días* (Madrid, 1909); F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman espagnol contemporain* (Paris, 1907), pp. 203-31; César Barja, *Libros y autores modernos, siglos XVIII y XIX* (Los Angeles, 1933), pp. 305-22; José León Pagano, *Al través de la España literaria*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, n.d.), II, 113-27; B. Pérez Galdós, *Obras inéditas; arte y crítica*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1923), pp. 201-08; A. Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la literatura española*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1937); José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín), *El paisaje de España visto por los españoles* (Buenos Aires, 1941); Jean Cassou, *Pano-*

books and studies do say that she wrote for the theater, but, with the exception of two, no one of them seems to have taken the trouble to examine the work on which he so parsimoniously reports.⁴ The question arises as to whether so good a novelist could have been so bad a dramatist, and this without assuming that proficiency in one genre presupposes or guarantees the same in another. It would be obviously impossible to sustain such a premise. The virtues and vices

rama de la *littérature espagnole contemporaine* (Paris, 1929); Beatrice Erskine, "Emilia Pardo Bazán," *Contemporary Review*, CXX (1921), 240-44; Luis Ruiz Contreras, *Medio siglo de teatro infructuoso* (Madrid, 1930); Manuel Martínez Espada, *Teatro contemporáneo* (Madrid, 1900); Rubén Darío, *España contemporánea* (Paris, 1921); José Yxart, *El arte escénico en España*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1894-1896); Constantino Eguía Ruiz, *Literaturas y literatos* (Madrid, 1914); Julio Casares, *Crítica profana* (Madrid, 1916); Rafael Cansinos-Assens, *La nueva literatura*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1917-1927) and *Poetas y prosistas del novecientos* (Madrid, 1919); Eduardo Gómez de Baquero, *El renacimiento de la novela en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1924); Andrés González Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos* (Valencia, 1917); A. Andrade Coello, *La Condesa Emilia Pardo Bazán* (Quito, 1922); Margarita Nelken, *Las escritoras españolas* (Barcelona, 1930), pp. 220-26; E. Gómez de Baquero (Andrenio), *De Gallardo a Unamuno* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 145-59; Manuel Gálvez, "Emilia Pardo Bazán," *Nosotros*, XXXVIII (1921), 27-34; José Francés, "Les scénarios du roman espagnol," *Hispania* (Paris), II (1919), 299-306; G. Martínez Sierra, "La feminidad de Emilia Pardo Bazán," *Motivos* (Paris, 1905), pp. 129-41; Boris de Tannenberg, *L'Espagne littéraire, portraits d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, première série (Paris, 1903), pp. 299-316; A. Canga-Argüelles, "Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán," *La ilustración española y americana* (June 22, 1916); and Manuel de la Cruz, *Estudios literarios* (Madrid, 1924), p. 277-91.

⁴ Their brief comment is as follows: Mérimée-Morley, *A History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1930), p. 550: "As if the laurels of novelist, critic, student, moralist, and publicist were not enough, Sra. Pardo Bazán wished to add to them those of the theater (*Verdad*, 1906) . . ."; J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1921), p. 333: "La condesa de Pardo Bazán . . . ha cultivado el teatro . . ."; José A. Balseiro, *Novelistas españoles modernos* (New York, 1933), p. 326, lists "Tomo 35, 'Teatro'"; A. González Blanco, "Emilia Pardo Bazán," *La Lectura*, VIII (1908), 20-29, 155-66, and 414-21, p. 27: "Ahora [after her prize essay on Feijóo, 1876] es cuando remanece en ella el hervor literario; comete, como dice con suprema ironía, dos o tres dramas, 'prudentemente cerrados bajo llave apenas concluidos'"; A. F. G. Bell, *Contemporary Spanish Literature* (New York, 1925), p. 61: "Literary criticism, essays, books of travel, lectures, plays . . ."; J. Hurtado y J. de la Serna y A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1921), p. 1020: "En el teatro no logró éxito; sus obras estrenadas son: *El traje de novia* [sic for *El vestido de boda*], *Verdad*, *Cuesta abajo* y *La suerte*"; J. Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, 14 vols. (Madrid, 1915-1922), IX, 285, lists: "*El vestido de boda*, monólogo, 1898; *La suerte*, diálogo dramático, 1904; *Verdad*, drama (silbado), 1906; *Cuesta abajo*, comedia (idem, 1906); *Teatro*, 1909"; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), XLI, 1441: "Entre las obras escritas para el teatro figuran *Verdad* y *Cuesta abajo* (1906), estrenadas con mediana fortuna"; E. Gómez de Baquero (Andrenio), *Novelas y novelistas* (Madrid, 1918), p. 297: "Quitando algunos ensayos dramáticos . . ."; C. C. Glascock, "Two Modern Spanish Novelists: Emilia Pardo Bazán and Armando Palacio Valdés," *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 2625 (Austin, 1926), p. 42: "Her activity extended over a wide range indeed: literary criticism, essays, books on travel, lectures, plays . . ."; and *Short Stories by Pardo Bazán*, ed. A. Shapiro and F. J. Hurley (New York, 1933), Introd., p. vii: "In addition to writing verses, plays . . ." For the exceptions,

of novelists who write for the theater have been pointed out frequently, particularly in the case of Pardo Bazán's eminent contemporary, Pérez Galdós.

Cejador y Frauca's sparse comment of "silbado" for her dramas, *Verdad* and *Cuesta abajo*, is only an inspiration for the curious to find out why. Similar comments, such as "en el teatro no logró éxito," "obras escritas para el teatro . . . estrenadas con mediana fortuna," and "dos o tres dramas, 'prudentemente cerrados bajo llave apenas concluidos,'" have a like effect. It must be admitted, as González Blanco points out, that Pardo Bazán herself, with amusing modesty if not with the "suprema ironía" that González Blanco attributes to her, uses the word "cometer" to describe her own writing of dramatic works.

The dramatic works of the learned countess form a brief list:

El vestido de boda, monólogo. Escrito expresamente para Balbina Valverde, y estrenado el 1º de Febrero de 1898.

La suerte, diálogo dramático. Estrenóse este diálogo con extraordinario aplauso, el día 5 de Marzo de 1904, en el *Teatro de la Princesa*, representando el papel de Na Bárbara la Sra. Tubau de Palencia, y el de Payo el Sr. Monteagudo.

Verdad, drama en cuatro actos, en prosa. Estrenado en el *Teatro Español* el 9 de Enero de 1906.

Cuesta abajo,⁵ comedia dramática en cinco actos, en prosa. Estrenada en el *Gran Teatro* el 22 de Enero de 1906.

El becerro de metal, comedia dramática en tres actos, en prosa, n.d.

Juventud, comedia dramática en tres actos, en prosa, n.d.

Las raíces, comedia dramática en tres actos, en prosa, n.d.⁶

She thus tried her hand at the monologue and at three-, four-, and five-act plays. Conspicuous success seems to have attended only *El vestido de boda*, *La suerte*, and *Cuesta abajo*. She herself thought that *Verdad* was a better play than *Cuesta abajo*, but the public disagreed.⁷ Luis Morote agreed with her: "Porque *Verdad* es cien veces

see note 7, below. Except for the last work cited above, textbooks do not mention her drama: Pascual López, ed. W. I. Knapp (Boston, 1905); *Los mejores cuentos de la Condesa Emilia Pardo Bazán*, ed. W. K. Jones (Garden City, 1931); and *El tesoro de Gastón*, ed. Elizabeth McGuire (New York, 1922).

⁵ She used this same title for one of her short stories.

⁶ The title of another work, *Nada*, somewhat ominous, it must be admitted, is given by Mariano Miguel de Val, in *Los novelistas en el teatro* (Madrid, 1906), p. 52: ". . . *Nada*, título éste de su nueva obra, destinada al teatro de la Comedia" (after the performance of *Cuesta abajo*). No work of this title appears in her *Teatro*. Mariano Miguel de Val treats only the first four works in my list.

⁷ Cf. Luis Morote, *Teatro y novela* (Madrid, 1906), p. 289, where he reports a conversation with the authoress, in which he remarked to her: "Me gusta más *Verdad* con todos sus errores que *Cuesta abajo* con todos sus aplausos. . . ." He goes on to say: "Y la talentada dama me replicó que

superior, mil veces superior a *Cuesta abajo*, porque en *Verdad* están Tolstói y Gorki mejor o peor imitados, mientras que en *Cuesta abajo* se recuerda a Scribe. . . . Pero éstas son las justicias que manda hacer el público y ante sus mandatos hay que doblar la cabeza. . . ."⁸ He does say, however, although somewhat cryptically, that *Verdad* was not altogether displeasing to its audience.⁹ As he continues, it is evident that his own conditional approval of *Verdad* was not meant to imply satisfaction with it, much less enthusiasm. He even goes so far as to condemn it carefully, along with Santiago Rusiñol's *Buena gente*: "Porque ambos son melodramas, dramones mejor diría, que merecían, en un criterio de perfecta equidad, ser rechazados los dos. . . ."

It is in this last comment that Morote strikes at the heart of all Pardo Bazán's dramatic troubles. Whether intentionally or not, she has given us stark, raving melodrama not unminged with sentimentality; and for these a Pardo Bazán cannot be forgiven.

Her monologues, *El vestido de boda* and *La suerte*, both beautifully and touchingly written, are full of sentiment and tender feeling. If it may be assumed that Pardo Bazán lacked the warmth of the feminine touch in her novels, such criticism could never be assigned to her monologues. The first gives us a fragment of the life of a Spanish seamstress. *La suerte* is a Galician story of a widow's savings brought to nought at the bottom of a river, when a foundling boy for whom her savings were intended is worsted in a fight and thrown into the river with the money.

Verdad begins with the theme of "nothing but the truth." Irene, the ill-fated semi-protagonist, says in Act I, scene vi: "¿Sigues con la tema de pedir verdades? . . . Mereces, mereces esa verdad que tanto deseas." By Act III, we have progressed to the theme of "your sins will find you out." Martín, the hero, remarks in the first scene of this act: "Siempre asoman a flor de tierra los pies de la verdad, por mucho que la enterremos." The "verdad" theme is worked to

pensaba lo mismo, sólo que como no es posible rebelarse contra el público recogía los aplausos tributados a *Cuesta abajo* y mentalmente se los tributaba a su hija predilecta *Verdad*." The only other critic who seems to have given Pardo Bazán's drama much notice is Mariano Miguel de Val, whose work is cited in note 6, above. This work, *Los novelistas en el teatro*, was written as a result of a polemic sustained with Pardo Bazán in the first issues of the review, *Ateneo*. The polemic is continued in the book, notably pp. 16-55; the treatment is caustic and sinks to name-calling. He says she attacked him only because she thought he attacked her in his *Ateneo* article. The beginnings of this literary feud may be reviewed in *Ateneo*, I (1906), as follows: Mariano Miguel de Val, "Los novelistas en el teatro," 62-65; Emilia Pardo Bazán, "Los novelistas en el teatro," 181-84; and X, "Los novelistas en el teatro, por Mariano Miguel de Val," 321-22. (The last mentioned is a review of Sr. Val's book before its publication.)

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 272: "El drama de la Pardo Bazán, pese a la fama literaria de su autora, o a causa de esa misma fama, fracasó ruidosamente para el gran público y sólo gustó a contadísimos críticos y hombres de letras."

death throughout the play, with constant repetition of the word "verdad." We are served up unmitigated and unrelenting tragic atmosphere, spiced with horror throughout. There is an uncompromising insistence on driving home the truth of the truth. This driving home of the theme is in no sense the evangelistic sermonizing of a Fernán Caballero. The play is not meant to be an object lesson to anyone. Pardo Bazán simply goes ahead and tells her story in a straightforward, thoroughgoing manner, as coolly as she did in *Los Pasos de Ulloa* and *La madre naturaleza*, with no punches pulled. The vogue of naturalism had passed, and it would be unfair to classify her drama as anything but the unadulterated realism that was always her ambition. Withal, the characters are well drawn, and the drama seems not to be suffering from that common fault of novelists who write drama, viz., a novelistic portrayal in dramatic form. Pardo Bazán makes one wish he might see a dramatic work of hers written in a calmer mood.

A portion of Morote's report on the *estreno* of *Verdad* will bear quotation:

El público estuvo cruel, fiero, hosco y hasta grosero con la Pardo Bazán. No le perdonó nada, no tuvo siquiera en cuenta el bagaje literario de la escritora a la que se ha llamado algo irónicamente la eximia. Se juntaron en el Teatro Español todos sus enemigos, dispuestos a devorarla, como en efecto hicieron de un modo implacable. Aquello no era público, era una jauría desatada. En los corredores se escuchaba a jóvenes y a ancianos críticos exclamar: ¡que se vaya a hacer calceta! Ya quisieran muchos de los que censuraban, tener la mitad del talento de *hombre*, no de mujer, que tiene la Pardo Bazán. . . . y nadie pidió el nombre de la autora de *Verdad* al caer el telón. . . .¹⁰

He concludes his relation of the plot with: "¿Para qué continuar la cuenta? ¡Lástima de drama!"

Pardo Bazán brought all this adverse criticism upon herself by giving us a melodrama with a stupid hero and three assassinations, one of the assassinations being that of the heroine in the first act, and that by strangulation almost in the sight of the audience!

In *Cuesta abajo* she uses the device, often employed by Pérez Galdós, of significant names of characters, e.g., La Marquesa de Castel Quemado, Julio Ambas Castillas, Manolo Lanzafuerte, and Alonso Altacruz. Following the cast of characters, the authoress makes the following unusual suggestion to the impresario:

Advertencias importantes de la autora.—Si se juzgase oportuno por razones de brevedad o de conveniencia, el cuarto acto de esta obra puede suprimirse en la representación. Los renglones entre asteriscos pueden suprimirse también.

The play begins with the hackneyed device of two servants in the home of the Condes de Castro Real discussing the affairs of the

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 276-77.

family they serve, as they arrange the room. The burden of the play is the enthronement of traditionalism, in the same uncompromising manner as that used by Ricardo León in *Casta de hidalgos*. The success of this play is as difficult to understand now as it was when Morote saw it on the stage. He writes:

... el triunfo indudable de *Cuesta abajo*. . . ¡Qué ironías las ironías del público! Poco le faltó en el Teatro Español para silbar *Verdad* y en poco estuvo que no sacaran a la Pardo del Gran Teatro entre vivas y aclamaciones, en una triunfal marcha de las Antorchas para celerar el éxito de *Cuesta abajo*. ¡Qué injusticia!¹¹

El becerro de metal is an exaggerated, sentimental play on the Jewish-Spanish theme made famous by Pérez Galdós in *Gloria* and by Fernández Ardavín in *La dama del armiño*. Sentimentality again rules the stage in *Juventud*, and again significant names of characters are used: Socorro, Don Carmelo, and Doña Traspaso. Here we witness the rather unreasonable regeneration of a visionary, idealistic, and somewhat flighty adolescent into the fine, upstanding, and responsible man that we should have recognized in him all along. He is the idealist gone realist and come to his senses, thus being able to marry the girl next door whom he has courted over the back fence. The title is apt, and the reader or audience is not disillusioned. Melodrama comes to the fore again in *Las raíces*. This time the plot revolves around the illicit love affairs of a husband and his wife, each of whom has succeeded in keeping his secret from the other. The death of a sickly child of the wife, the husband's losses in a bank failure, of which bank the wife's paramour is president, and the revelation of forgotten love letters furnish the mental pandemonium of the characters.

Pardo Bazán was not a dramatist, her own convictions, ambitions, and dramatic works to the contrary notwithstanding. It is unfortunate that she ever essayed the drama.¹² The worthy forty-six other volumes of her *Obras completas* will stand as a lasting monument to her prodigious energy and productivity, and to her literary eminence. Her volume of *Teatro* has well deserved the oblivion to which it has been consigned.

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¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 288. Mariano Miguel de Val, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52, cites various periodical reviews of her dramatic work (in *El Imparcial*, *ABC*, *Diario Universal*, *Heraldo de Madrid*, and *Época*), particularly of *Cuesta abajo*.

¹² Sr. Val, *op. cit.*, p. 162, quotes her as saying: "... he huido del teatro como el diablo de la cruz."

AGNOLO SEGNI AND A RENAISSANCE DEFINITION OF POETRY

By G. GIOVANNINI

A now forgotten critic of the sixteenth century, Agnolo (or Angelo) Segni, was prompted by his admiration for the poetry of Petrarch to defend the lyric as true poetic imitation in six lectures delivered before the Florentine Academy in 1573.¹ This defense was necessitated by the current tendency to equate poetry with the imitation of externalities, imitation of a kind not apparent in lyric poetry. Segni's interest in the lyric form led him to a rather novel theory of poetry which deserves consideration as a contribution to speculations during the Renaissance concerning the nature of poetic truth.

Influenced by well-known passages in ancient criticism, Renaissance critics tended to think of both the esthetic and instructional value of poetry as dependent on a content appropriated from the sciences and the arts. The question asked by Bernardo Tasso before the Academy of Venice in 1560 clearly shows how seriously the relation of poetry to other subjects was taken:

E di mestieri adunque al poeta per sollevarsi a quella sublime altezza de la Poesia, d'haver cognitione de l'arti, e de le scienze. . . . Come vorebbe le divine, & l'humane cose, & quelle, che sono, e che non sono comprese dal sentimento, i costumi, le attioni de mortali, i gloriosi fatti de gli huomini illustri, dipingere; se fosse del tutto ignaro de la Filosofia, della Teologia, de l'istoria, e de le altri scienze, & arti?²

Bernardo Tasso, like many of his contemporaries, did not think of poetry in terms of its own essential form, but in terms of a complex of affinities. Torquato Tasso made explicit what was implicit in his father's rhetorical question; when members of the Accademia della Crusca accused him of avoiding the poet's obligation to invent by

¹ The material of these lectures was revised and reduced to four discourses published as *Ragionamento sopra le cose pertinenti alla poetica* (Florence, 1581). Little is known of Segni. He is remembered in old accounts as a Florentine of distinction (Michael Pocciantius, *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum omnis generis* [Florence, 1589], p. 12), who in a short time gained for himself the reputation "di perfetto Filosofo, d'insigne Poeta, ed' eloquentissimo Dicitore" (Giulio Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini* [Ferrara, 1722], p. 49). He was still living in 1576 when he functioned in an official capacity in the Florentine Academy, before which he recited his sonnets.

² *Ragionamento della poesia* (Venice, 1562), p. 8v. Cf. similar remarks in Fracastoro's *Naugerius* (1550), ed. with an English translation by Ruth Kelso, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, IX, no. 3 (1924), pp. 54-55.

relying on history, his final defense was that one art cannot harm but must, rather, improve another; for there is a subtle relationship among the arts, recognized from antiquity, a relationship which can be exploited with profit:

... l'una arte non distrugge l'altra, nè l'impoverisce, ma l'aiuta piuttosto, e la fa più copiosa; dunque, s'alcuno sovra questo fondamento ha fondato nuovo edificio, cerca di ruinare l'amicizia, e la congiunzione, la quale è fra l'arti antica, ed universale, e comune a tutti i secoli, a tutte le favelle.³

This somewhat vague idea of a unity among the arts had an important effect: It led Renaissance critics to coextend and intimately associate poetry with all fields of knowledge and to identify the poetic process itself with the cognitive. Thus, to be a good poet required a fund of miscellaneous information, and in the opinion of one critic "i Poeti scrivendo, hanno cognitione non solamente d'un' arte sola, ma di molte insieme."⁴ That a knowledge of history and philosophy is an essential part of the poet's equipment became a commonplace; and by extension poetry itself was confused with these subjects. "Poetae sine Philosophia fuitiles, ac nulli," remarked Lombardi.⁵ "La Poesia non è altro, che una prima filosofia," commented Giraldo Cinthio.⁶ To Daniello poetry and history are alike because they both describe men and manners; history itself is a prose

³ Letter to Curzio Ardizio, *Opere di Torquato Tasso* (Florence, 1724), VI, 371. Cf. a passage in Cicero, *Pro Archia*, I.2, familiar to Renaissance critics: "Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur." Tasso was alluding to critics like Leonardo Salviati who protested against the practice of finding the virtues of poetry in things outside of it; Salviati exclaimed, "E mi maraviglio, come si faccia tanto romore, e così superstiziosamente si cerchi dal di fuori la bontà, che si ritrova dentro i componimenti poetici" (*Dello 'Nfarinato Secondo*, in *Opere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. cit., VI, 11).

⁴ Francesco Sansovino, Dedication to *Sette libri di satire* (Venice, 1583). Cf. Thomas Nash's *Anatomie of Absurdities*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), I, 329: "... neither is there almost any poetical fygment wherein there is not some thing comprehended, taken either out of Histories, or out of the Phisicks or Ethics; wher upon Erasmus Roterdamus very wittilie termes Poetry a daintie dish seasoned with delights of every kind of discipline."

⁵ Preface to Maggi and Lombardi's *In Aristotelis librum de poetica communes explanationes* (Venice, 1550), p. 3. See J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1924), p. 43.

⁶ Letter to Bernardo Tasso, in *Lettere di XIII huomini illustri*, ed. Thomaso Poracchi (Venice, 1565), p. 871. Cf. Strabo's doctrine of the poet as wiseman (*Geography*, I.2.3), and a crucial passage in Maximus Tyrius (*Dissertations*, trans. Thomas Taylor [London, 1804], II, 103) which makes poetry and philosophy wholly synonymous. During the Renaissance both ancients served as authorities justifying poetry as a learned subject. Publio Fontana, an ardent disciple of Maximus Tyrius, is a good example of the critic who expected the poet to be acquainted with "tutte quelle cose, che caggiono sotto la cognitione dell'Intelletto humano" (*Del proprio, & ultimato fine del poeta* [Bergamo, 1615], p. 48).

poem.⁷ One of the glories of history, it was argued, is the aid it gives poetry in providing fiction with the solid basis of factual truth.⁸ It was a consideration of this relationship which led Castelvetro to declare flatly that history is the original of poetry, "prendendo la poesia ogni sua luce dalla luce dell' historia."⁹

The general tendency of these comments is toward considering poetry an imitation of externalities.¹⁰ Poetry imitates things verifiable outside itself; or as Torquato Tasso categorically asserted, "Se i poeti sono imitatori, conviene, che siano imitatori del vero, perche il falso non è, e quel che non è, non si può imitare."¹¹ The doctrine that the value of poetry depends on truthful representation follows naturally and was prevalent in the sixteenth century; it was sometimes stated in terms of poetic imitation as a kind of syllogism: We compare the imitation with the reality and pass judgment on how faithful the copy is to the original. Alessandro Piccolomini, for example, thought of poetic imitation as generally like the painting of objects recognized as actual.¹² An imitation, Castelvetro maintained, is not self-sufficient; by definition it is a sign of correspondence either to an object in nature or to a probable truth (verisimilitude).¹³ This realistic concept of imitation is succinctly defined by Francesco Buonamici, who assumed that even in the highly imaginative creation the intellectual process of comparison with an objective reality is part of the contemplative act:

L'imitazione consiste in questo, che l'imitante non si prenda come cosa assoluta, & che da per se si sostenga: ma che si riferisca ad un'altra, che si regge in se; & però nell' imitazione precede un concetto, che si ritrovi la natura rappresentata, ò veramente, ò pure che tale nell' immaginazione sia caduta.¹⁴

Agnolo Segni, reexamining these ideas with reference to the lyric, found them inadequate for a generic definition of poetry and de-

⁷ *Della poetica* (Venice, 1536), p. 41. Cf. Minturno (*L'arte poetica* [Naples, 1725], p. 444); who will doubt, asks Minturno, "che dalla Storia, nutrimento, ed aumento prenda il Poema? conciossiacosache sia ella prossima alla Poesia e quasi verso sciolto." Both critics were developing an idea in Quintilian (X.1.31): "Est [historia] enim proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum est."

⁸ Carlo Sigonio, "De laudibus historiae," *Opera omnia*, ed. Ludovico Muratori (Milan, 1737), VI, 531B, 531D.

⁹ *Poetica d'Aristotele* (Basel, 1576), p. 5.

¹⁰ See Cornell March Dowlin, "Plot as an Essential in Poetry," *RES*, XVII (April, 1941), 166-83.

¹¹ *Opere*, ed. cit., IV, 51. Salviati (*Dello Infarinato Accademico della Crusca* [Florence, 1585], p. 42) calls this reasoning sheer nonsense; there are, he says (p. 44), "fantastiche invenzioni, le quali, ne in particolare, ne in universale, non si potrebbon chiamar veraci."

¹² *Annotationi nel libro della poetica d'Aristotele* (Venice, 1575), pp. 68-69. Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, IV.1-6, and *Rhetoric*, I.xi.23-24.

¹³ *Poetica d'Aristotele*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ *Discorsi poetici nella Accademia Fiorentina in difesa d'Aristotele* (Florence, 1597), p. 40. Cf. pp. 41, 43.

veloped a new and, in his time, original theory of poetry. He found that man and nature are imperfect ("colpa della materia, & della natura nostra corrotta, et de' contrarij, di che noi siamo composti").¹⁵ It appeared obvious to him that history, in describing things as they are, is conclusive evidence that perfection is nowhere among us. The intellect, however, can rise above this imperfection toward the contemplation of the perfect and universal.¹⁶ But poetry is not the expression of the abstract and perfect idea of things; the expression of universals "in loro stessi nudi & aperti, & veri" is the function of philosophy.¹⁷ On the other hand, the description of things in time and space with their imperfection is properly the function of history.¹⁸ There are, according to Segni, two kinds of truth: factual truth, and ideal truth not found in mundane things. These truths are poles apart; indeed, they are so unrelated that poetry, in seeking to bring them together, becomes a sort of lying:

Onde l'istoria & la filosofia, che stanno nelle pure estremità, è tutta vera l'una & l'altra: la poesia, che congiunger le vuole, non essendo congiunte, è parte vera & parte falsa: vera per l'Idee, le quali ella esprime: & falsa per le cose, dove ella le pone.¹⁹

Segni discovered a way of reconciling the two apparently contradictory tendencies in contemporary criticism, which referred poetry to both the generic of philosophy and the particular of history. The function of the poet is to give a fictitious reality to the union of unrelated materials; poetry, he seems to argue, does not directly imitate either kind of truth, but imitates the poet's mental image which conjoins the generic and particular to form an original imaginative construct. By adopting this psychological approach²⁰ Segni

¹⁵ *Ragionamento*, p. 64.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁰ This approach permitted Segni a justification of the lyric as imitation. Since poetic imitation is the making of an imaginative construct expressed in words ("l'imitazione poetica è componimento ò facimento d'Idoli con l'orazione," *Ragionamento*, p. 13), it is an indifferent matter whether the poet speaks in his own person or through the words and actions of characters (*ibid.*, p. 11). The person speaking, whether the poet himself or another character, is merely the instrument of imitation (*ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 34-35), a technical feature which differentiates the various kinds of imitation: lyric (the poet speaking in his own person), dramatic (the poet speaking through characters), and narrative (the poet speaking both in his own person and through characters). The fact that Aristotle does not discuss the lyric induced Renaissance critics to identify imitation with the fable of drama and narrative exclusively. But Segni (*ibid.*, pp. 25-26) defines the fable in the broad sense of imaginative representation, which may be with or without action, and claims the support of Aristotle who speaks (*Poetics*, VI.7-8) of the thought (*διάνοια*) of characters as an object of imitation. Segni extends poetic imitation to include "i costumi, le passioni dell'animo, i concetti della mente," and says, "& se la poesia consiste in imitazione, & queste cose imitare si possono, quale ragione le toglie al Poeta, & ne' termini delle sole azioni lui

could interpret the poetic process as the construction of an amalgam of disparate truths, and the poem as a direct imitation in words of a subjective reality. He apparently thought that too much emphasis had been placed on the relation of poetry to the external world of fact and of Neo-Platonic abstractions. Particular and generic truths are merely elements giving birth to a new substance which is the object, not of the cognitive, but of a separate poetic process:

Dove si può contemplare da noi la differenza tra queste tre facultà manifesta, historia, filosofia, & poesia, & tra le loro orazioni: che essendo due spezie estreme, una le cose tra noi co' loro difetti, l'altre le loro perfezioni, che noi chiamiamo Idee, queste fanno la filosofia, & quelle l'istoria, ciascuna delle due parti da se: ma l'una parte & l'altra congiunte insieme generano la poesia.²¹

So he concludes, "Et però è mezzana tra la filosofia & l'istoria la poesia, perche partecipa de que' due estremi."²² The distinctive character of poetry is this imaginative union, which has only a tangential relation to the external world of things and generic truths. To Segni this fictitious union of dissimilars to form something new is more descriptive of the essence of poetry than the current definition of poetic imitation as the truthful representation of externalities. He does not deny that poetry incorporates truth,²³ but in the final analysis poetry is divorced from the cognitive and assigned to a "fantasia interiore" which manipulates the generic and particular into a subjective reality, an *Idolo*, or feigning.²⁴

ristringe?" Cf. Benedetto Varchi: "... come gli Scultori e' dipintori imitano principalmente il di fuori, cioè i corpi: così i poeti principalmente imitano il di dentro, cioè gli animi, o piu tosto gli affetti de gli Animi..." (*Lezioni* [Florence, 1590], p. 583; cf. pp. 227, 462-63, 607-08). See Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

²¹ *Ragionamento*, pp. 65-66.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 66. Cf. Vossius (*De artis poeticae natura ac constitutione* [Amsterdam, 1647], p. 52): "... poësis mediam obtineat naturam inter historiam, & philosophiam." This classification of poetry appeared again in Giovanni Volpi's criticism (*Liber de utilitate poetices* [Padua, 1743], p. 185). Cf. also n. 28 below.

²³ Poetry, however, is an impure cross of the generic and particular; in a passage which is a modification of Aristotle's *Poetics*, IX.1-3, poetry is given a unique position between philosophy and history: "[la poesia] in quanto partecipa della filosofia, & de suoi oggetti, è migliore dell' historia: ma per la partecipazione dell' historia, & de' particolari sensibili dell' historia oggetto, per questo è sotto la filosofia, & di minor dignità del filosofo il poeta" (*Ragionamento*, p. 66).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14: "la poesia essere questo, orazione falsa, la quale fa cose false, & finte da lei (li quali Idoli addomandiamo) somiglianti alle vere: & questa orazione falsa da' Greci è chiamata mythologia, & da noi favola." *Idolo* is sometimes understood by Segni as a representation of objective reality; but it is also, and more usually in his criticism (*ibid.*, pp. 8-11), *immagine*, *opinione*, *fantasma*, *fabbricazione*, which refer to the introspective quality of all poetic imitation. In his discussions of poetic imitation Segni was groping for the concept, expressed by his contemporary Giacomo Mazzoni,

The disparity between what is verifiable in philosophy and history and what the poet imagines led Segni to conclude that poetry does not appeal to the intellect, which finds truth in the sciences more readily than in poetry; it appeals, rather, to a nonrational faculty ("appetito irragionevole") which functions through the senses and the imagination:

[La poesia] dall' altra parte irrazionale sarà ricevuta come in proprio albergo, dico dell' appetito mediante il senso dell' udire & del vedere, & della fantasia interiore. Et noi così affermiamo, che la poesia propriamente opera nell' appetito irragionevole, & quello ha per fine, non l'intelletto, il quale il suo vero troua nelle scienze molto meglio che ne' Poeti.²⁵

Poetry, in short, is an ingenious feigning, nonrational in kind. Segni did not detail the imaginative process; but the fact that he distinguished it from the process of knowing is evidence of his dissatisfaction with the doctrine that the value of poetry is dependent on truthful representation. In Segni's view the elements of reality in a poetic imitation are parts of a larger whole—a fictitious whole appealing not to the intellect, which is made solely for truth, but to the perceptual ("il sensitivo appetito"), which is guided by appearances only.²⁶ In the contemplation of poetic imitation the role of the intellect is passive; it follows without reflection ("segue incontenente") the emotions aroused by the perceptual.²⁷

Though Segni discusses poetry within a pattern of affinities current in his day, he shifts attention to the subjective character of imitation. He was perhaps the first to state that all poetry, though it utilizes philosophical and historical truth, is an imitation of an internal reality and takes its form from the "fantasia interiore" which conjoins the generic and particular. He succeeded in clarifying the precise relation poetry has to the generic of philosophy and the particular of history as parts of an imaginative construct original with the poet. For it is this fictitious union which distinguishes poetry from the form of philosophical and historical discourse—"La poesia . . . narrando cose state ò presenti, non come sono ò furono, ma simili all' Idee, & mostrando l'Idee non in se,

that the poet is the imitator par excellence, because unlike the historian and philosopher he is intent on imitation as such; "l'Imitatore," says Mazzoni (*Della difesa della comedia di Dante*, Parte Prima [Cesena, 1587], p. 397), "fabbrica l'Idolo perfetto, cioè l'Idolo, inquanto ch'egli è Idolo. . . . Si che possiamo concludere, che l'historico, e il Poeta, c'havrà per soggetto del suo Poema l'historia, saranno in questo differenti, che l'historico racconterà le cose fatte per lasciar memoria del vero; ma il Poeta le scriverà per imitarle, e per lasciarne un Simularco, inquanto, ch'egli è Simularco."

²⁵ *Ragionamento*, p. 46.

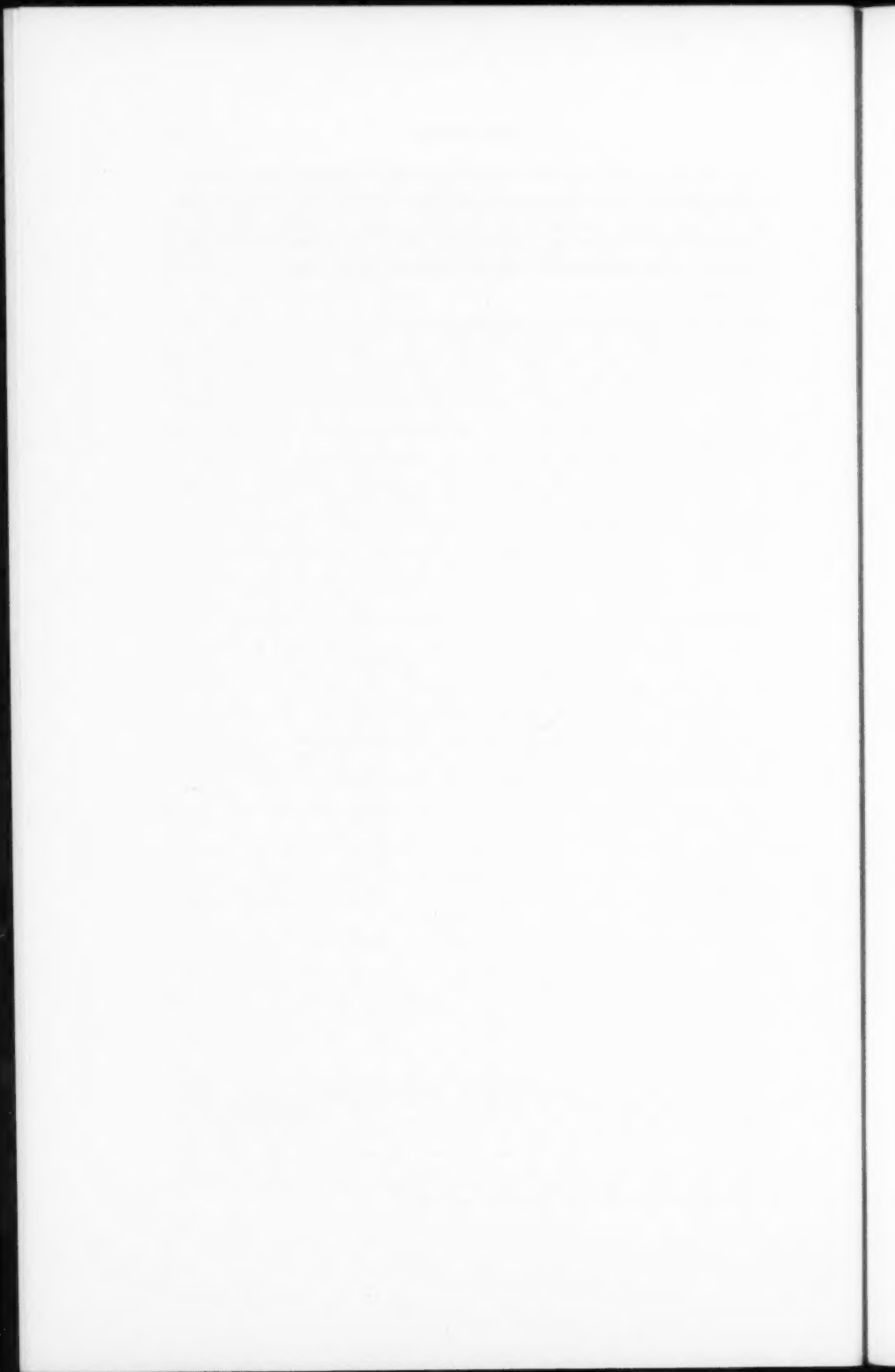
²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

ma nelle cose state & nelle presenti."²⁸ Segni agreed with his contemporaries that poetry exploits verifiable truths. But he was careful to point out, by ingenious reasoning, that it ought not to be confused with other things: Poetry is unique in the sense that what it depicts when taken in its entirety has no reality outside the poet's imagination.

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²⁸ *Ragionamento*, p. 66. Cf. Sidney (in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 164), who explains the moral utility of poetry by a reference to such a fictitious union: "The Philosopher therefore and the Historian are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example. But both not having both, doe both halte. . . . Nowe dooth the peerelesse Poet performe both: for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth shoulde be doone, hee giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was doone. So as hee coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example."



THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE MIRROR OF KNIGHTHOOD*, PART NINE¹

By DOROTHY F. ATKINSON

*The Ninth Part of the Myrrour of Knighthood*² carries on its title page no translator's name, nor has it any dedication or address to the reader. Thus it provides no ready indication of its English authorship. But for a long time it has been assumed that the translator was the L. A. who did Parts 7 and 8.³ The *British Museum Catalogue*⁴ plainly states, "Pt. 7-9 by L. A." Professor Underhill⁵ describes Part 7 correctly as "Translated by L. A." and adds "Books VIII. and IX., London, 1599 and 1601, were also translated by L. A." To this view Mr. Henry Thomas implied his adherence when he said, "R. P. . . . Englished the two remaining books of the first part, the two books of Pedro de la Sierra's second part, and the first two books of Marco Martinez's third part. The translation was then continued by one L. A., the whole work being completed in eight volumes by 1601."⁶

These assumptions that L. A. did Part 9 have stood unsupported by any evidence. I believe that they are actually mistaken and that it can be conclusively demonstrated, first, that the *Ninth Part* is not the work of L. A., and, second, that it is the work of the R. P. who had translated Parts 2-6 inclusive. That this R. P. was really Robert Parke I have already tried to prove.⁷ My purpose in this article, therefore, will be to give the evidence upon which I base these two statements about the authorship of the *Ninth Part*.

I

The belief that L. A. is not the translator of Part 9 rests upon internal evidence.

- (A) Part 9 lacks the outward evidences of the self-conscious author's pride which characterize the parts of the *Mirror* known to be the work of L. A.

¹ The research of which this is a part has been made possible by the award of the Margaret Snell fellowship by the American Association of University Women and by a grant-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies.

² *Being the fourth Booke of the third part thereof: . . .* (London, Printed for Cuthbert Burbie, . . . 1601).

³ Published in 1598 and 1599.

⁴ *Vide sub* "Margaret Tyler."

⁵ J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (New York, 1899), pp. 402-03.

⁶ Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 247.

⁷ See "One R. P.," *Modern Language Quarterly*, VI (1945), 3-12.

- (1) Parts 7 and 8 are signed with L. A.'s initials, appended to the dedication⁸ or the address to the reader. In Part 9 there are no such signatures.
 - (2) Part 9 has no introductory matter of any kind, whereas Parts 7 and 8 have both preface and dedication.
 - (3) L. A. employed Latin or Spanish quotations on title pages, at the close of the address to the reader, or at the end of the volume.⁹ No such tags appear in Part 9.
- (B) There are stylistic differences between L. A.'s two parts and Part 9.
- (1) L. A. characteristically employs a marked inversion of sentence structure. The following are typical examples:
 - (a) Sorrowfull became the beauteous Lady, to see them so eager against each other, . . . because she thought the stranger would haue the better: but seeing them so fierce, withdrew her selfe, praying for both their victories: For if she affects the one as her brother, the other she loues, as her liues cōmander (1598, C).
 - (b) Within sight had they the mountaine Pindus, whence it springes (1598, F4).
 - (c) Forwards stept the Lady, with whome nothing preuailed the Princes intreaties, to make her leaue that dangerous enterprise, but swearing what the entrance required, and that so loud, that the Prince might heare, it so reioyced him, that his senses with pleasure were bereft him: . . . (1598, G).
 - (d) Returne vpon her he desired, but the furie that conducted him, so farre did lead him, that whē he turned, the Lady was already on her feete (1598, G^v).

The *Ninth Part* offers no such extreme inversions as these.

- (2) L. A. employs contractions, such as *Ile*,¹⁰ *weele*,¹¹ there are none in Part 9.
- (3) Repetition, which is a frequent rhetorical device in L. A.'s two parts, does not characterize R. P.'s work. Some of L. A.'s repetitions are:
 - (a) I dare, oh I dare not presume . . . (1599, D).
 - (b) For this, oh this vaine . . . beautie . . . (1599, E4^v).
 - (c) Whether, ô whether may I flie for refuge? (1598, *4).

In order to illustrate more adequately the stylistic quality of the *Ninth Part*, I print here a page chosen at random from Part 9 and one, also at random, from Part 7 which L. A. is known to have translated.

⁸ 1598, p. *4^v; 1599, p. A3^v [A4^v].

⁹ Part 7 (1598), title page, *4^v, Rr4^v; Part 8 (1599), title page, Oo3^v.

¹⁰ 1599, pp. C4, G2, G4^v, M3, O, etc.

¹¹ 1599, Mm^v.

Ninth Part, pp. Nn2^r-Nn3

The young man gaue him no other answere, then by turning about his horse, and putting downe his Beauer, and tooke [Nn3] so much ground as might suffice for his carriere. The Tinacrian did the like. Here, oh Nymphes of Pernassus, your helpe is wanting: and in no occasion, O M[e]rcurie, thou canst employ thine better, then to explaine, with what grace the one parted from the other. As for me to intermeddle in the matter, I shal but wrong those valorous knights, which made the one towards the other, and came so soone together, as could not be imagined. Their strong encounters would haue soone broken the hard rockes: but they met with so hard brests, that the Launces being shiuered into small splinters, flew vp into the ayre as high as the cloudes; true witnesses of the mightie strength of those two warriours, which without any mouing, as though they had beene lockt in their Saddles, with a singular good grace passed along the one by the other: they returned with their swords aloft, and terrible were their blowes. The sparkles which flew from their shields, seemed to set them on fire. The Tinacrian lost the reynes of his bridle, and thought that the last day had beene come, hee heard such thundring about his eares: and out at his mouth came abundance of bloud, and hee was a while past remembrance. But the young man which had receiued a full blow, and from the best arme in the world, whose sword hath the best edge, fell vpon his Saddle bow bereft of his senses.

But his horse carried him ten paces off, and euerie body looked when he would fall: but when he came againe to him selfe, there was no Serpent that was troden vpon, nor Lyon in a feuer, that was so furious. The courage wherewith he came, made the sparkles of fire to flie out of his eyes. The Tinacrian came againe to himselfe, wondring at the mightie blow which he had receiued: and seeing his Cousin come so furious, hee thought it were but folly to stay for that blow: and as he was more nimble, and was better mounted, so he bare to one side, making him to lose his blow, which came with such force, that it made him to fall downe vpon his Saddle pummell, so hard, that when he would haue set[Nn3^v]led himselfe againe, he was not able: and the horse finding his head at liberty, with two boundings cast him to ground, although hee fell vpon his feete.

L. A., the Seventh Part, pp. G2-G2^r

Hereat the Centaure beganne to rore so fiercely, that the noise was heard of y^e Prince that was left without, which so tormented him with feare of his Ladies daunger, that without longer stay, he cast himselfe through those fierce flames, following the Echo of the noise that stil increased: [G2^r] for y^e the Heroycke Lady, had so wounded him on the legg, that almost shee had cut it cleane asunder. Admiration would the sight of this battaile breede: for the nimblenesse and dexteritie that awayted on Rosamond cannot be imagined, which had so tyred the Centaure, as it had her selfe: which he not able to suffer, seeing his blood so fast to runne, cloased with the Ladie, crushing her so strongly, that shee could not fetch her breath: Yet not so much, but shee could finde force to vse her dagger, which then shee thought would most assist her, with which, ayming at the monsters brest, she stucke it therein vp to the hilts, that he was forced to let her go. But feeling himselfe so wounded, he tooke vp the remainder of his Oake, and with it, began to stryke the Lady with such strength, that her flesh and bones he brused, and so after staggering her, that it was a wonder she sustained her selfe so long. But considering the honour rising by that aduenture, and how shee had left her deare Lorde without, shee so animated her selfe with an inuincible resolution, either to end that perillous attempt, or else to leaue her life,

as a trophie of her valour. Whereupon shee made, as if shee would receiue a blowe vpon her shield, holding her sworde with the point against him, it happened as shee desired: For he discharged it as if he ment to cleaue a rocke: but escaping it, stept vnder his armes, bearing her point forward, thrusting it to the hilt, which made him loose his blowe, yet not his closing her betwixt his armes, so sorely crushing her with the pangs of death, that both as dead, fel downe on the ground, wherewith the heauens were darkened with clowdes and foggie mistes, with lightening and thundering, as if then the vtter desolation of the worlde were come: which past, there appeared in the middle of the yard, a most sumptuous Table, whereon were set Pyramides like masseue golde: vnder it lay the Centaure and the Lady, both pearsed through the bodies, which sight was able to draw pitie from a Rocke.

(C) The vocabulary of L. A.'s two books includes words and phrases which are not characteristic of Part 9.

- (1) An ecclesiastical and theological phrasing marks the dedication of Part 7 and crops up frequently in the text. Examples from the dedication, which opens with a long allusion to "holy writ," include:

But as the incensed heauens are by true contritiō and vnfaigned penitence appeased of their wrath: . . . & my offēce, which first of all by confessiō, I hope wilbe lessened, & thē your pardon washing away my sinne, in signe of a thankefull debtor for all your bounties, I sacrificize my selfe & this motiue of my transgression on the Altar of your acceptance, where the fier of my penitent hart, consuming the oblation, it may cleare my passage to your reconciled grace from all obstacles of your anger.

Thus L. A. excuses himself for not visiting a friend during the past vacation!

Examples from the text include:

- (a) Use of feminine *-ess*, as in: ordresse (1598, Ii4); guidress (1599, R2^v); commaundresse,¹² distributresse (1599, Kk4^v).
 - (b) Use of feminine *-trix*, as in: Dominatrix (1598, Qq).
 - (c) Repeated use of phrases like: elevated in contemplation (1599, B2^v, G2); to haue the fruition of your . . . presence (1599, N4, S2); recant his intent (1599, I^v, Mm2); their immaculate triple trinitie (1599, D^v, C2^v, E4^v, A2^v); impenetrated pardon (1599, X3^v). None of these is used in a technical sense.
 - (d) Use of single words, also in a non-technical sense, as: Fiat (1599, U4^v) to refer to the Deity; expiate (1599, X3^v); sublimated (1599, C2^v); sinode (1599, Nn3; 1598, *passim*) to denote any large gathering.
- (2) Certain coinages and mistranslations from the Spanish which do not occur in Part 9:
- (a) *Hay me*, from Spanish *aymé*, is a commonplace in Parts 7 and 8.

¹² OED cites L. A.'s use of this word in *Don Bellianis* (ca. 1598) ed. 1650, p. 217: "Commandresse over so many Kings, Princes, Lords, and Signories." Cf. *Mirror*, 1599, E2^v, T^v, Ii2^v.

- (b) *Fantasma*, meaning *ghost*, *apparition*, and apparently taken from the Spanish (1599, X3, Ee4).
- (c) *Rotullo*, a *three-line poem*, occurs only once, at 1598, Aa2^v.
- (d) *Godfathers*, meaning *groomsmen* or *seconds* who come, to the number of 2000, in the train of jousting knights (1598, O4), is an obvious mistranslation of the Spanish *padrino*. It is significant that L. A., with his penchant for ecclesiastical language, should have chosen *godfathers*.

(3) Other words which characterize L. A. or are unique in his two parts:

- admire*—to surprise: *OED* cites L. A.'s use of this word in *Don Bellianis* (ed. 1650, p. 204): "A Tent . . . with so many gallant Devices, that it admired every beholder." Cf. *Mirror*, 1599, Oo: "armour, . . . that the riches of them admired the spectators."¹³
- affectionated*—of one in love: "this is our affectionated Brandafidell" (1598, R3).
- alienated*—being in love: "for as euery one liueth by being alienated" (1598, Gg3). The *OED* does not list this use.
- almosted*—"with another [blow] . . . that almosted had layde him againe alög" (1598, Rr^v). This may be a typographical error.
- amate*—to daunt (1599, Ee4^v, Ff^v).
- associate*—without a preposition, as "my ingratitude . . . forceth mee to let none passe this way, only to haue more company (being alone) to associate me" (1599, U^v).
- bravados*—"Theseus was none of those that admitted any such brauados" (1599, U2).
- canabey* or *cannabie*—L. A.'s usual spelling of *canopy*. It may be dialectical.
- pleasant chat*—a commonplace of L. A.'s.
- comparative*—comparison: "the Greeke Princes admit no comparative" (1598, Ll3^v, and *passim*). See, *post*, "comparison," in Robert Parke's list.
- cote* or *coate*—to scrutinize, make mental note of (1598, B4^v; 1599, P, Q3).
- to consolate*—to console (1599, A2^v, Cc).
- deathes man to himself*—to commit suicide (1599, C4).
- draling*—trailing: "draling his bodie on the ground" (1599, Gg2).
- famozed*—made famous (1598, D3^v; 1599, N2, Hh4^v, Kk, *passim*).
- hereaway*—"know, what hereaway hath happened" (1599, D4^v).
- ignore* (used in a very odd way)—"by reason I am so greatly knowne here and therefore it behooues you to speake, yf you do not ignore the language" (1598, Qq3).
- illusion*—spectre (1599, Hh3^v, X3). Robert Parke uses *vestigell*.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. "admire" in Robert Parke's list, *post*, p. 183.

¹⁴ See my article, "One R. P.," *loc. cit.*

- immanity*—monstrous cruelty, barbarity (1598, C4; 1599, Kk4).
immeritable—unmeritable (1599, R2^v, Ff3^v, Mm4^v).
imperate—to rule (1599, B^v, Nn).
impetrate—to obtain by request (1598, address to the reader).
incitate—to incite (1598, B4^v).
inveterated—of long standing, inveterate (1599, Ii3).
lastly gasp—last (1598, U). Perhaps a typographical error.
"messe of choice warriours"—a company of four (1598, Bb3).
Nygromant—necromancer (1598, U^v; 1599, Q2^v, Bb3^v).
occult herself—to conceal (1599, E2).
pensative—pensive (1598, P2).
pestiferous—(1599, Kk2).
pondered, ponderating—ponder (1598, Ded.; 1599, H2^v, R2^v).
popularitie—populace (1598, Bb4^v, Dd2; 1599, G, Ii4).
principiated—originated, initiated (1598, N; 1599, C2^v).
rauning—ravening (1598, N3).
remoted—remote (1599, M3^v, and *passim* 1598, 1599).
repugne—"respect my poore immaculate honour, the which although in some respect I do repugne" (1599, H2; cf. 1598, Mm^v).
riggish—wanton (1598, Ii2).
sconce—small fort (1599, Ll3).
terrene—earthly (1599, D, Nn).
uprise—sunrise (1599, C2^v, I3^v, L^v).
usance—habit, custom (1599, Cc3, Hh2).
ventilated—discussed (1598, Nn3).

The important thing to bear in mind is that the words in this list, many of them ordinary, do not characterize the vocabulary of Part 9.

II

If L. A. is not the translator of the *Ninth Part*, who is? I feel sure that the evidence points to Robert Parke. The plausibility of this statement is heightened by the circumstances under which Parts 6-9 were published.

On April 12, 1597, Cuthbert Burby registered with the Stationers' Company¹⁵ the last four parts of the *Mirror*. In 1598 two of the four were printed. Part 6, printed by "Edward Alde for Cuthbert Burby," was translated by "R. P."¹⁶; Part 7, printed by "Thomas

¹⁵ Arber, III, 196.

¹⁶ Title page, *Sixth Part*, 1598.

Purfoot for Cuthbert Burby" was translated by L. A. In other words, Burby had two translators and two printers working on the *Mirror* job in 1598. One of the translators, L. A., continued and published Part 8 in the next year. Then for some reason, two years passed before the *Ninth Part* appeared. It is quite possible that L. A. gave up the task and that Burby then obtained Robert Parke to finish the work. Knowing that Parke had already translated over half of the *Mirror*, Burby would, I think, be likely to ask him to complete the translation.

Whatever the circumstances may have been, it seems clear that Parke took over and did the 1601 volume. Stylistically Part 9 resembles the other portions translated by R. P., as will appear from a comparison of the page from Part 9 (see, *ante*, p. 177) with the following specimen page from Parke's translation of Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Historie of China*.¹⁷ I use the *Historie* here because it is clearly the work of Robert Parke.

Hakluyt Society edition, II, p. 9

In this iland was Lymahon retyred with his armie a certaine time, and durst not returne to the firme land, for that he knew that the kinges fleete did lie vpon the coast to defende the same. And although he did send forth some ships a robbing, yet did they not doo any thing of importance, but rather came flying away from the mightie power of the kinges. From this ilande they did goe forth with some of their ships, robbing and spoyling al such as they met with marchandice and other things that they carried from one ilande to an other, and from the iland vnto the firme, and comming from thence, amongst them all, they caused to take two ships of China which came from Manilla, and were bound to their owne countrie. And hauing them in their power, they searched them vnder hatches, and found that they had rich things of golde, and Spanish ryalles, which they had in truck of their marchandice the which they carried to the ilandes. They informed themselves in all points of the state and fertilitie of that countrie, but in particular of the Spaniardes, and how many there were of them in the cite of Manilla, who were not at that present aboue seuentie persons, for that the rest were separated in the discovering and populing of other ilands newly found; and vnderstanding that these few did liue without any suspicion of enimies, and had neuer a fort or bulwarke, and the ordinance which they had (although it was very good), yet was it not in order to defend themselves nor offend their enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleete and people, for to destroy and kill them, and to make himselfe lorde of the saide ilande of Manilla and other adiacent there nigh the same. And there he thought himselfe to be in securitie from the power of the king, which went seeking of him.

Linguistically also the *Ninth Part* resembles Robert Parke's work. In the following list of characteristic words and unique expressions, I shall support the Part 9 reading not merely with other *Mirror* readings, but frequently with citations of the *Historie*.

¹⁷ "Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke" (London . . . 1588). Repr. ed. Sir George T. Staunton, with introduction by R. H. Major, 2 vols., The Hakluyt Society, vols. XIV-XV (London, 1853). The dedication is signed "Robert Parke."

(1) Characteristic expressions include:

- (a) "so angrie and tormented in minde, . . . that he knew not whether he were in heauen, hell, or vpon earth" (1601, M2); "so full of anguish and alteration, that she knewe not whether she was alieue or dead" (1585, Hh5^v); "he had so great feare, that he knew not whether he was in heauen or in earth" (*Hist.*, II, 200).
- (b) "There can no sorrow be compared to theirs" (1601, L); "there were no ioy nor pleasure that might be compared vnto hers" (1585, 250); "there was no glorie in all the worlde that might be compared vnto this" (1585, 240).
- (c) "the hard plates of steele" (1601, E4) to describe armor; "strong plates of steele" (*Mir. Sir.*, Z3^v).
- (d) "that Kingdome was at an instant in an vprore" (1601, A3^v); "there grew a great vprore" (1585, 181^v); "they will not cause any vprore in the countrie" (*Hist.*, I, 72).
- (e) "came again to himself" (1601, I2^v, Nn3) means to regain consciousness; cf. *Mir. Sir.*, Cc, R^v, and 1585, 113, 114^v. It is a commonplace.
- (f) "making little splinters of their great Launces, whose trunchions flew out of sight, vp into the clouds" (1601, Ii4^v); "their . . . Speares being broken in peeces, the sheeuers thereof flew into the aire . . ." (1585, 112).
- (g) "sounded as though he had stroke vpon a bell" (1601, Ii2) or "sounded like a bell" (1601, D2^v)—used of blows on armor, chiefly helmets; "another [blow] . . . so great that it sounded as though he had stroke vpon a bell" (*Mir. Sir.*, Q4^v).
- (h) "layd him all along vpon the ground" (1601, L1); "him lying a long vpon the ground" (1585, 103); "laie all a long vpon the greene grasse" (*ibid.*, 18).
- (i) "two leaps," "two iumps," "two light leaps," "two boundings" (1601, K3^v, N2^v, Mm3^v); cf. *Mir. Sir.*, L4^v, N, O2, etc., *passim*.
- (j) "There was neuer Viper troden vpon" (1601, Li2); "like a viper troden on" (*Mir. Sir.*, Dd3).
- (k) "such & so much" (1601, Aa4); "lamentation was such & so much" (1583, 192).
- (l) "put him out of his remembrance"—to render unconscious (1601, U3^v); cf. 1583, 114, 116, and *passim* in Parke.
- (m) "carrying with them matter enough, to talke of . . ." (1601, Bv, Oo3); "hauing inough to talk of all their liues . . ." (1586[?], 152^v).
- (n) "he fell vpon the horse necke" (1601, R2^v, D2^v); cf. 1583, 153, and *passim* in Parke.
- (o) "made him set his hands and knees to the ground" (1601, Ii2^v); "made him set both hands and knees to the ground" (*Mir. Sir.*, M4^v); "made him stoope with both his knees to the ground" (1583, 179^v); "made him to fall againe vpon his hands, with both his knees to the ground" (*ibid.*, Aa2).

- (2) Characteristic words from Part 9 which are also found generally in Robert Parke's translations. The following list is largely supplemental to that already published (see, *ante*, note 7).

admire—to wonder:¹⁸ "Princes, . . . whose beautie and comlynesse made them all to admire" (1601, Ee3v); "The Princes . . . more admired when at the farther end, they saw a Nymph" (*Mir. Six.*, D4v); "it caused the kings maiestie to haue great admyration, and he is a person that little wondereth at things" (*Hist.*, I, 32).

to be alighted—"For 4. Giants being alighted to helpe" (1601, Rr2); "lifting vp their visors alighted themselues to helpe" (*Mir. Six.*, Nn^v); "So soone as they were alighted" (*Hist.*, II, 78).

alteration—change in facial expression or in circumstances: "With this new alteration, marshalling his troupes," (1601, Tt); "not knowing the occasion of that sodaine alteration" (1586[?], 47).

**amaine*¹⁹—to lower sails. Attributed to Robert Parke by the *OED*: "the two Gallies . . . wherin . . . was heard a great cry bidding them to amaine" (1601, Aa2); "He shot at them to make them amaine" (*Hist.*, II, 38).

artificially—ingeniously, skilfully: "his Armes . . . set with many Eagles of Gold, so artificially done," (1601, Ii); "then should I artificially declare the rigorousnes of this battel" (*Mir. Six.*, Ov); "there was also a tumbler, who did his feates verie artificially" (*Hist.*, II, 88).

**caul*—a net for the hair: "Pluckt [her helmet] away, leauing her couered with a fine Cawle of gold" (1601, Nn); "They do binde their haire . . . in calles of golde" (*Hist.*, I, 30); "haire knit vp in a call of golde" (1586[?], 48v).

to be certified—to be informed. *Passim*, 1601, *History*, and earlier *Mirror* volumes.

could not chuse but—(1601, Dd 4 and *passim*); *passim*, all of Parke's volumes.

comparison—"without comparison" (1601, Iv) and "admitteth no comparison" (1601, L2v) are characteristic of Parke and contrast with L. A.'s "admit no comparative." See L. A. list, *ante*.

competitors—adversaries: "He saw from his high horse, his braue competitor" (1601, Tt2); "I am content . . . if my competitor be so agreed" (*Mir. Six.*, O2v).

conformable—appropriate: "they haue giuen her a name conformable to her constitution" (1601, B2v); "this little seruice conformable to your desert" (*Mir. Six.*, R2v); cf. *Hist.*, I, 48, 93, etc.

well consorted—of music: (1601, F3v, L3v); "songes well consorted" (*Hist.*, I, 58); "hearing the sweet and well consorted musicke" (1583, 190).

cleane contrarie—different, etc.: "it happened to him cleane contrarie" (1601, Ff4); cf. *Mir. Six.*, Y4v; 1586[?], 2; *Hist.*, II, 23, and *passim* in all Parke works.

¹⁸ See "admire" in L. A. list, *ante*, p. 179. The two uses differ markedly.

¹⁹ Words marked (*) are words discussed in my article "One R. P.," *loc. cit.*

- corpulent*—"The Pagan . . . as hee was heauily armed, and corpulent of body" (1601, I3^v); "He . . . seemed to bee most corpulent, and was armed" (*Mir. Six.*, T3); "they are commonly corpulent and fatte" (*Hist.*, I, 19).
- crazed*—cracked or broken: "the prince was so crazed with the fall" (1601, H3); "the healme . . . the which . . . was somewhat crazed" (1586[?], 144^v).
- discommodity*—"discommodity of the place" (1601, Gg2^v); "soyle destitute of inhabitautes, and . . . of victualls, which discommodities galled . . ." (1583, 24^v).
- difficil*—"to passe any aduventure, wer it neuer so difficil" (1601, Ss^v); "there is nothing so difficil to be vnderstoode," (1586[?], 16^v).
- equitie*—"it was the equitie of the cause and the great wrong done her" (1601, C2^v); "hauing so great equitie on her behalfe" (*Mir. Six.*, G4); cf. *Hist.*, I, 113.
- *to put in execution*—a commonplace of 1601, the *Hist.*, and earlier *Mirror* volumes.
- experimented*—experienced: "as he said, who had wel experimented the same" (1601, Bv); "The experimented lady did verie well marke his disturbance" (*Mir. Six.*, Ec3^v); "his knight valiant and experimented in the wars" (1586[?], 20^v).
- jot*—"hee would not lose a iote of his lovely affection" (1601, Iv); "his hearte should not fayle him one iotte" (1585, 114^v); "without failing any iot" (*Hist.*, I, 10).
- pensill*—"Oh that my Mistresse would allow herself to be beloued, which would giue me meanes to depaint this warre, . . . it were a sweet pensill for mee to vnderstand, that she tooke pleasure to be adored" (1601, Ee); a painter "vsing affection as his pensill" (*Mir. Six.*, Hv); "like vnto a painters pensill" (*Hist.*, I, 123).
- *pestered*—encumbered: "pestered and loaden with rich spoyles" (1601, T4^v); "the Citie was meruailouslie pestered with the great number of people in it" (1586[?], 117^v); "ships pestered with horses" (*Hist.*, II, 116).
- populous*—"Countrey is . . . the populous Lucania" (1601, G4); "a mightie and populous citie" (*Hist.*, I, 19); "All the countrie is verie populous" (*ibid.*, II, 166).
- *pretence*—intent: "vnderstood his pretence" (1601, Mm4^v); "And there he pretended to liue in securitie, so with this determination he departed" (*Hist.*, II, 10).
- procure* (with infinitive)—to try: "they also procured him to pardon them" (1601, Kv); "he only procured to fauour and helpe those" (*Mir. Six.*, F4^v); "Desiring him . . . to procure to returne" (*Hist.*, I, 164).
- in a readiness*—"before hee could be in a readiness" (1601, Kk); "they caused more to be put in a readines" (*Mir. Six.*, Q); "he commanded to be put in a readinesse all that was necessary" (*Hist.*, II, 30).

- **reasonable*—fair, considerable in size or amount: "a man of reasonable vnderstanding" (1601, [E]); "he was as bigge as a reasonable Lion" (1586[?], 61); "townes haue three and foure thousand souldiers, such as in Europe are esteemed for reasonable cities" (*Hist.*, II, 51). *OED* cites Parke's use of this word.
- recreate themselves*—"being . . . in a gardē, . . . to recreate my selfe" (1601, G3); "go forth abroad to recreate themselues" (*Hist.*, II, 102); cf. *Mir. Six.*, Y3. A Spanish importation.
- refraining*—restraining: "refraining the furie of the Greekes" (1601, U2); "he could not refraine his yre" (1585, 29); "she could not refraine her selfe so much to holde her peace" (1583, Dd5^v).
- replenished*—"with whose fame y^e whole world is replenished" (1601, C2^v); "a faire quadrangle, . . . replenished wth so great variety" (*Mir. Six.*, E); "a country very well replenished and fertile" (*Hist.*, II, 240).
- rosiall*—"for losing her Rosiall colour" (1601, D2^v); "Lynda-brides, who lost that roscall colour of her faire face" (1585, 112).
- shrewd(ly)*—"shrewd blow," "shrewd fall," "shrewdly pained." Cf. 1601, Ee2^v, Oo^v, K4; *Mir. Six.*, Dd3.
- sightly* (an adjective)—"blowe was nothing sightly" (1601, R2); "began so sightly a battell" (*Mir. Six.*, Ll3^v).
- standings*—"in the standings, whither . . . meat [was brought] for dinner" (1601, Nn^r); "at his standing" (1585, Kk2^v); "he carried him directly vnto the standing where the king was" (*Mir. Six.*, Ee3^v); "put themselues in their places or standings" (*Hist.*, II, 102).
- **successe*—event: "freeing vs frō any success that may happē" (1601, G4); "caused that to succeed which seemed impossible" (*Mir. Six.*, E2); cf. *Hist.*, II, 233, 233 n. The *OED* ascribes this word to Parke.
- to avoid tediousness*—"To avoid tediousness, I do not set downe" (1601, I4^v); cf. *Mir. Six.*, E^r, Q3^v, Aa3, etc., and all earlier *Mirror* volumes. A commonplace.
- **triumphant chariot*—"In the triumphant chariot they thrise sounded three Clarions" (1601, Tt^v); cf. 1585, 73 and *passim*; "there is a pagode or temple . . . there is in it a triumphant chariot" (*Hist.*, II, 331).
- vnawares*—"took him at vnawares" (1601, Bb3^v); "struck a blow at the Tartare vnawares" (*Mir. Six.*, Bb4^v); "they might come on him vnawares" (*Hist.*, II, 19).
- **unlooked for* (adjective following its noun)—"for it was a thing vnlooked for" (1601, B4); "with this successe vnlooked for" (*Hist.*, *passim*); "security and quietnesse, vnlooked for" (*ibid.*, II, 6).
- universal world*—"there is a King, who . . . is worthe to be king of the vniuersall world" (1601, B2); "to whom destiny . . . did promise triumph and victory of the vniuersall world" (*Mir. Six.*, E2^v).
- valorous* (in a salutation)—"Valorous knight,' said . . ." (1601, Z3, Aa^v, etc.); cf. *Mir. Six.*, 12^v, Ee, etc.

III

The evidence in sections I and II could be indefinitely extended. However, I believe that the two lists, mutually exclusive as they are, and the evidence adduced in my earlier paper about R. P. give ample evidence, not only of distinct vocabularies and style in L. A. and in Part 9, but also of the recurrence of these distinctive words in similar context. For Robert Parke, at least, we now have a fairly complete list of characteristic words and phrases which should enable us to recognize his style.

The findings of this paper justify the conclusions that:

- (1) L. A. is not the translator of Part 9 of the *Mirror of Knighthood*.
- (2) Robert Parke, for reasons unknown, returned to the task and completed the *Mirror* by doing Part 9 for Burby.
- (3) Robert Parke is, therefore, the translator of exactly two-thirds of the romance, having done six of the nine parts. His connection with the *Mirror* began in 1582, as I have shown in the previous article, and ended in 1601. We have added three years to Parke's life as a translator, and we have added one more volume to his bibliography. Instead of the two ascribed to him by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, we now have a total of eight volumes translated by Parke.

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THE MURDERED SUBSTITUTE TALE

By ERNST G. MATHEWS

Three scholars have attempted, the third of them with success, to discover the source of the substituted bride episode in Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*.¹ None of them seems to have known that the tale which was the source has a dual history, one in the Middle Ages and another in the seventeenth century. The earlier history has been so extensively studied that I only sketch it here; I do, however, present a fresh analysis of the tale in the light of later uses, and justify my use of a new label, the Murdered Substitute, for the tale. The seventeenth-century history, hitherto not traced in full, constitutes the bulk of this article. Especial attention is devoted to the tragic plot of *The Changeling*, which was indebted to the tale for far more than a bit of racy stage business.

The Murdered Substitute tale, which has affinities with folklore tales of Type 870A,² was apparently Oriental in origin.³ It occurs twice in Persian, once in Arabic.⁴ In composite outline the Oriental form of the tale runs:

A maiden of high degree seduces a young man and accidentally kills him. To get the body off her hands, the maiden enlists the services of a man of lower caste. This man (the "porter"), as payment, demands his will of the girl, who is forced to submit, but who later wearies of his brutal lust and kills him.

When her marriage day approaches, the heroine, fearing that her loss of virginity will be discovered, arranges that a virgin servant girl replace her in the marriage bed. The girl fails to yield her place to the mistress at the time agreed upon. To rout her out, the mistress sets fire to the house, and in the excitement gets rid of the witness to her shame by pushing the substitute into the fire (or, in one version, into a reservoir). The deception and the murders remain undiscovered.

¹ G. P. Baker, "A New Source of *The Changeling*," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I (1903), 87-88; Karl Christ, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Middletons* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 97-98; Bertram Lloyd, "A Minor Source of 'The Changeling,'" *Modern Language Review*, XIX (1924), 101-02.

² Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folk-tale*, FF Communications, No. 74 (Helsinki, 1928), "The Little Goose-Girl."

³ Probably from India, in the opinion of P. Arfert, *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzähllitteratur* (Schwerin, 1897), pp. 39-40. Arfert's opinion is supported by the existence in the *Ocean of Story* (Tawney's translation, ed. N. M. Penzer, VI [London, 1926], 40-55) of a story (Hamsälavi) which contains most of the motifs of the Murdered Substitute tale.

⁴ For the Arabic tale, see Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* (Liège, Leipzig, 1901), V, 217-18: a summary of the tale as it appears in the Comte de Caylus, *Oeuvres badines complètes* (Amsterdam, 1787), VII, 223-31, "Chadul." For the Persian tales, see Jonathan Scott, *Bahar-Danush, or Garden of Knowledge* (Shrewsbury, 1799), III (Appendix), 293-94; and A. Bricteux, *Contes persans traduits pour la première fois sur un manuscrit inédit de la Bibliothèque de Berlin* (Liège, Paris, 1910), pp. 38-44.

The earliest European form of the tale, found in *The Book of Leinster*,⁵ makes a first step toward Christianizing the story. The heroine is, like her Oriental prototype, wilfully lustful; she commits the three murders (including that of the substitute, by drowning her), and succeeds in the deception. Later, after her father and her husband have died, she repents of her crimes and confesses to her priest. He, like the "porter," demands that she yield to his lust, and exposes her early sins when she refuses. Condemned to confinement in a hut at a crossroads, she is found to be alive at the end of seven years—a miracle. The confessor repents; both he and the lady go to heaven; and the crossroads becomes the site of a temple in honor of the Virgin.

This "sühnende Busse" ending, varied in details, of course, became a regular feature of the tale in medieval Europe.⁶ But another change also was made, one which served to complete the Christianization of the story, and to make of it, as a *conte dévot*, a more harmonious whole. An introduction of completely different tone makes the heroine sinned against from the beginning. In the commoner European introduction:

The maiden, betrothed to a prince or a baron, makes an assignation with her fiancé. An underling (a seneschal), or a rival for the lady's hand, dissuades the fiancé from keeping an appointment which would bring dishonor upon the lady, keeps it himself, and deflowers the maiden. She kills the betrayer as soon as he falls asleep.

⁵ R. Atkinson, ed., *The Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1880), pp. 64-65. Reinhold Köhler, "Le conte de la reine qui tua son sénéchal," *Romania*, XV (1886), 610-11, presents a French translation. Unique in the Irish tale is the heroine's violation of the custom that a boy and a girl born on the same night are automatically betrothed and sworn to live chaste if the other should die. The scene is Greece.

The close similarity of the Irish tale to the Oriental, in particular to the *Bahar-Danush* tale, which is like the Irish in showing the original lover suffocated while being hidden from the girl's father, is my reason for calling the *Book of Leinster* story the earliest European form. The Irish tale, of course, antedates the *Bahar-Danush* (ca. 1650) by some five centuries.

⁶ The European versions, besides the Irish, are the following:

Latin: Alfons Hilka, "Neue Beiträge zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters, Die Compilatio Singularis Exemplorum der Hs. Tours 468, ergänzt durch eine Schwesterhandschrift Bern 679," *Neunzigster Jahres-Bericht d. Schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur* (Breslau, 1913), Abteilung IV, c. Sektion für neuere Philologie, p. 15. Cf. the German translation, A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 46-47.

Old French: M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes* (Paris, 1823), II, 256-78.

G. Paris and U. Robert, *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*, I (Paris, 1876), 151-202.

Middle English: S. J. H. Herrtage, ed., *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, E.E.T.S., extra series, XXXIII (London, 1879), 394-96.

Middle High German: Karl Euling, ed., *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte* (Tübingen, 1888), No. XIV, pp. 166-86. A summary and comment appear in Euling's *Studien über Heinrich Kaufringer*, *Germanische Abhandlungen*, XVIII (Breslau, 1900), 87-91.

This introduction, which occurs in the Old French, the Middle English, and the Middle High German versions, varies but little in plot from a tale which appears, without the substituted bride element, in *Le Roman de Marques de Rome*.⁷ A distinctly different introduction accompanies the Latin Murdered Substitute; it too appears as an independent tale, in a collection edited by Joseph Klapper.⁸ One is tempted by the theory that the European narrators of the Murdered Substitute, perceiving the lack of harmony between the opening and the ending of such a form as the Irish, adopted an already existing tale as the new introduction; but the reverse may have taken place.⁹

Whatever the relationship of introduction and tale, the existence of distinct forms of the introduction, and their parallels, and the *conte dévot* ending, emphasize the need of the new label which I have given the tale. J. A. Herbert's tag, *Seneschal*,¹⁰ is objectionable in that it fits the independent *Marques de Rome* and Klapper stories, and does not fit the Oriental and Irish tales. A. Wesselski's title, *Sühnende Busse*,¹¹ characterizes the European form alone, and fits the Klapper story. Arfert's label, *Brangäneerzählung*,¹² gives the genus, but not the species; it does not take into consideration the typical string of murders. My prosaic label, the Murdered Substitute, at least covers all known versions, which are, I believe, a sufficiently

⁷ Johann Alton, ed., *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, CLXXXVII (Tübingen, 1889), 114-15. The *Marques de Rome* tale varies scarcely at all from the Old French introductions. There are greater variations in the Middle English and Middle High German versions, but the replacement of the fiancé at an assignation is central in all. The latter pair, however, are like the Oriental, the Irish, and the Latin Murdered Substitute in the retention of the "porter."

⁸ *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, Wort und Brauch, Volkskundliche Arbeiten namens der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, XII (Breslau, 1914), No. 125, 128-29 (German translation), 330-31 (Latin). Klapper dates the MS ca. 1350. In Klapper's tale (*De confessione et penitencia mirum*) a marshal, sent to fetch home the young wife of his king, forces her. She kills him and has a kitchen-boy carry off the body. He demands his will of the lady. As he is casting the body into a swift stream near the castle, he is pushed in. The wedding night raises no difficulties. The Penitence ending completes the tale. In the *Compilatio* version, a bride, too young to know man, is left by the husband in the care of a seneschal. When she had grown into a beautiful young woman, the seneschal stole into her room one night and deflowered her. The remainder of the introduction parallels the first portion of the Klapper tale.

⁹ Alton (*Marques de Rome*, p. xi) and Reinhold Köhler (*Kleinere Schriften*, ed. J. Bolte [Berlin, 1900], II, 395) fail to present convincing evidence that the Murdered Substitute yielded the independent tale in the *Marques*. Neither scholar seems to have known that the Latin Murdered Substitute also has an introduction which is paralleled by another independent tale. Since MS dates give small help, further research is necessary to settle the point.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III (London, 1910), 344.

¹¹ *Märchen des Mittelalters*, p. 46.

¹² *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut*, p. 39.

numerous subspecies of the substitute bride story to deserve an adequate label.

After the introduction, the tale continues as in the Irish version, with the murder of the porter, if one was employed, and of the substitute. Of the several variations in the European versions of the tale, the most significant is the employment, in the Old French versions, of a *cousine*, not a porter, to help dispose of the body of the seneschal, and later to serve as the substitute. Thus one murder is eliminated.

The significant differences between the Oriental and the European forms of the Murdered Substitute tale, the analysis has demonstrated, are two. First a *conte dévot* ending tempered the Oriental form to the Christian taste. Then a fresh introduction in harmony with the Penitence ending completed the transmutation of the cynical Oriental tale, told in the *Bahar-Danush* to illustrate the brilliant wiles of the woman cooped up. Thus amended and amplified, the European tale has, despite elements repulsive to an unhistorical taste, become a forcible illustration of the infinite mercy of the Virgin.

In the seventeenth century the history of the tale is that of a single version contributing to three other works. The parent version is Roberto's tale in Part I of Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses' *Poema trágico del español Gerardo*.¹³ Cespedes' *novela*, translated into English by Leonard Digges in 1622,¹⁴ conveys a skillful localization of the story, rationalized and altered slightly by omissions:

Two Spaniards, returning with revamped fortunes from the Indies, decide to cement their friendship by arranging the marriage of the children they have left in Spain, Roberto and Isdaura. When Roberto comes to marry Isdaura, he finds her household in a strange state of grief because of the death of an old servant, a "Biscayner." Isdaura seems unnaturally upset, but the wedding goes forward. On the wedding night a fire breaks out in the house, and in the excitement of extinguishing it a further tragedy occurs: Julia, Isdaura's maid, falls into the well and drowns. Again Isdaura's grief is extreme.

Some time later, in their new home, a misunderstanding leads to Roberto's wounding his best friend. Isdaura fears that her husband has become jealous, and, while taking flight to a convent, she falls and seriously injures herself. From her deathbed she writes a letter which explains not only her flight, but also the events of the marriage night.

The Biscayner, feeling that he deserved the hand of Isdaura for the care he had taken of her during her father's absence, was so affected by the approaching marriage that he fell ill. Late one night he came to her room,

¹³ Part I, 1615; Part II, 1617. In the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XVIII (1898), the tale occupies pp. 153-59.

¹⁴ *Gerardo the Vnfortunate Spaniard, or A Patterne for Lascivious Lovers. Containing Suerall Strange Miseries of Loose Affection*. A second edition appeared in 1653. The translation of the Roberto tale (pp. 89-107, 1622) is almost literal.

declared his love, and threatened her with a dagger. To gain time she promised him her love, but in his madness the Biscayner seized her and forced her. When he had fallen asleep, Isdaura killed him with his own dagger, wrapped the body in a sheet, and deposited it on the threshold.

Almost driven to suicide by her fears of the marriage night, Isdaura hit upon the plan of substituting in the marriage bed her virgin maid, Julia. To Julia she confesses herself no virgin, but does not tell of murdering the Biscayner.

The rest of the story is familiar: the fire to rout out the reluctant Julia, the act of toppling her into the well so that the substitution might not be revealed.

None of the medieval versions of the tale, apparently, served Cespedes as source. The Spaniard, not a learned man, was not likely to have read the tale in any of the languages, except the Latin, in which it is preserved. The elimination of the porter points to the French versions as the probable source. The likelihood is destroyed by two differences: in them the substitute dies in the fire, not in a well (as in the Irish also); and the role of the Biscayner is more like that of the original seducer in the *Compilatio* version.¹⁵ Bertram Lloyd wrote, "The ultimate source of the Cespedes-Digges story of Isadaura [sic] was no doubt the *Gesta Romanorum*. . ."¹⁶

But the fact that the tale appears in but one MS of the *Gesta Romanorum*¹⁷—and that in Middle English—coupled with the fact that the tale was so widely known, casts a great deal of doubt on the conjecture of Lloyd, who knew, apparently, but the two earlier versions of the tale: the French, pointed out by Baker, and the *Gesta Romanorum* story, pointed out by Christ.¹⁸ The soundest conjecture seems to be that Cespedes knew some Renaissance version now lost—possibly an Italian tale, since he is known to have used Italian sources. At any rate, the role of the Biscayner makes it fairly certain that the Spaniard knew a European form, rather than a possible version taken directly from Arabic into Spanish.¹⁹ Isdaura's flight to the convent and her letter of confession give added support to this notion: they are a link with the Penitence ending.

¹⁵ See n. 8 above. The Latin version resembles Roberto's tale in that the heroine is left in the care of the seducer. But the porter appears in the Latin tale.

¹⁶ Article cited, p. 102.

¹⁷ Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, p. 504, does not refer to any other appearance of the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

¹⁸ As cited, n. 1 above. Christ, of course, did not know that the Digges translation was the real source; there was nothing absurd in his attribution of *The Changeling* episode to the *Gesta Romanorum*.

¹⁹ The folktale most similar to Cespedes' tale (A. de Llano Roza Ampudia, *Cuentos Asturianos* [Madrid, 1925], No. 37) is outlined by R. S. Boggs, *Index of Spanish Folktales* (FF Communications, No. 90 [Helsinki, 1930]), Mt. 870B: "Pregnant princess wishes to marry man of better condition than one who seduced her. She murders latter and her baby and has maidservant who is virgin throw the one in a well and bury the other, and then take her place in bridal bed. She dismisses the servant without pay. . . ."

Digges's translation of the *Gerardo* brought Roberto's tale to the attention of its first and most important borrowers.²⁰ Middleton and Rowley, tinkering up John Reynolds' horror story of Beatrice-Joanna and Alsemero, seized upon the tale to aid them in focusing and centralizing the plot, and in giving the serious portion of the play the intensity it acquires because of De Flores. A brief analysis is necessary to show why I credit the tale with contributing so greatly to the play.

In Reynolds' diffuse tale, Beatrice-Joanna, spending an evening with her lover, Alsemero, hints that her fiancé, Piracquo, must be put out of the way, but forbids her lover to challenge him. Later, almost as an afterthought, it pops into her head that

There is a gallant young Gentleman, of the Garrison of the Castle, who follows her father, that to her knowledge doth deeply honour, and dearly affect her; yea, shee knowes, that at her request he will not sticke to murder *Piracquo*: his name is *Signiour Antonio de Flores*.²¹

De Flores does not stick to do her will, but his prose pallor is such that he is satisfied with a few kisses as his reward. It is only later, after Alsemero, married to Beatrice-Joanna, falls into an unreasonable jealousy of her, that De Flores, employed as a messenger to her from her father, becomes, as a kind of anticlimax, her lover.

A plot so weak in motivation and characters so flabby had to be radically remodeled for the stage. It is, of course, impossible to know what took place in the alchemy of collaborative creation. On esthetic grounds it appears unlikely that the dramatists, attracted by the novelty of the recent Spanish story, merely determined to wedge the substitution into an almost completed play; for the result is not a patchwork, although the play does disintegrate after Act III. A sounder hypothesis is that their knowledge of the tale was early enough to affect the whole conception of the tragedy. The Biscayner, though no fit match in comeliness, age, or social position, loves his mistress Isdaura to the point of madness. After an impassioned outburst against his master's decision to marry her to Roberto,²² he extorts her promise to marry him instead, then, excited by her touch, forces her. In Reynolds' tale, De Flores had performed a much more hellish service than rearing his beloved. But this De Flores,

²⁰ Digges's translation was entered on the Stationers' Register March 11, 1621/2, and published in the same year. Two tales from it were dramatized in Fletcher's *The Spanish Curate*, licensed October 24, 1622; another in *The Maid in the Mill*, licensed August 29, 1623. The novel was, then, a popular source before the Roberto tale was utilized in *The Changeling*, produced January 4, 1623/4 (*The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, ed. J. Q. Adams [New Haven, 1917], p. 51).

²¹ *The Triumphs of Gods Revenge against Murther* (London, 1635), Book I, Hist. IV, p. 54.

²² *Gerardo*, B.A.E., XVIII, 157.

we have seen, is a mere shadow in lavender. Why, the dramatists speculated, should not their villain make the same demand as the Biscayner? To do so, however, and to survive so as to take his part in the later action, he must be as much more powerful than the Biscayner as his earlier service is the more hellish. So, out of the weak original De Flores and the love-crazed Biscayner came a third thing, the villain of the play, loathesome and passionless in his crimes, but tender to Beatrice, and fascinating both to her and to his audience.

One may, in the dark of hypothesis, suspect this reconstruction because it rests upon esthetic considerations. Even so, one must allow that the tale contributed greatly to the tragedy. It made necessary the creation of the pert maid, Diaphanta. And it gave the reasons for the best scenes, those which show De Flores exercising his demonic power over Beatrice-Joanna.

Céspedes' story found three other borrowers in the course of the century—two of them never before debited. First, as Langbaine remarked,²³ the Roberto tale was used in *The Bastard: A Tragedy*.²⁴ A brief sketch of the relevant portion of the plot reveals the debt:

Gaspar, the bastard, has cared for Mariana while Alonso, her father, was reestablishing his fortune in the Indies. The reward Gaspar expects is the hand of Mariana, but Alonso promises her to a more eligible man, Balthazar. Mariana meanwhile has lost her chastity to her lover, Chaves. When Balthazar learns this fact and exposes her to Alonso, Gaspar almost gets the consent to his marriage with Mariana, but is again thwarted. Alonso betroths her to the son of one of his debtors, Picarro. Mariana is fearful:

. . . when as needs he must, he finds
Me for a Virgin thrust upon him, to be
Not so, hee'll kill me.²⁵

Catalina, her maid, suggests Celestina-like ways to cozen the bridegroom, but finally consents to replace Mariana in the marriage bed, and to vacate it for her mistress as soon as Picarro is asleep. But Catalina gives him a sleeping potion to make the deception sure. Next morning when Picarro accuses her of having tried to poison him, she confesses the trick. Mariana, when charged with her deception, confesses also, and promises to do penance.²⁶

Obviously the opening situation parallels the Murdered Substitute tale as presented by Céspedes; just as obviously the author soon began picking out only the details which suited his purpose of

²³ *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 527.

²⁴ 1652. Attributed, on shaky evidence, to Cosmo Manuche.

²⁵ IV, ii, p. 55.

²⁶ Later in the play (V, ii) Picarro meets Catalina and Mariana disguised as men. He tells, in part, the reason for his sadness. Mariana replies that she knew one who had sinned and put another in her place on the marriage night. Yet the husband, she says, had forgiven her and put her into a nunnery.

One scene in the play (IV, iii) may have been indebted to *The Changingling*: Chaves, Mariana's lover, appears with her brother in front of the wedding chamber. Chaves laments that his beloved is inside with another man; Rodriguez, the brother, offers to set fire to the chamber and destroy the married pair.

making a groundling's Jew of Malta of the bastard Gaspar. Because of the change in the deception business, Catalina is not murdered; Gaspar, since he is not the seducer of Mariana, is saved to cut throats in the chaotic last act. The only fact worth adding is that the author once alludes to Gerardo, "the unfortunate and ominous Spaniard."²⁷

The earlier of the two tales which have not before been recognized as retellings of the Roberto tale occurs in the *Cento Novelle Amoroze de i Signori Accademici Incogniti*: Novella vigesima settima, Part III, by Sebastian Bonadies.²⁸ It is a fairly close retelling of the Spanish tale, without the Spaniard's narrative skill. The West Indian experience of the fathers is not mentioned. The counterpart of Roberto, Lindoro, remains a very hazy bit of plot machinery. Filomante, who corresponds to the Biscayner, is considerably different: by the direct presentation of the story, Bonadies is able to expose his thoughts, which give him nothing of the pathos of his prototype. In the conclusion Nicaste, the heroine, oppressed by the jealousy of Lindoro, laments the deeds she has done in defense of her honor; Lindoro, having overheard her, asks an explanation, hears the story. The two live happily, presumably ever after, and presumably in the same precious style as that of the story.

The second of the previously unrecognized borrowings employs Cespedes' story in a thoroughly cynical and ungracious fashion. In *The English Rogue*²⁹ a bawd tells the tale as a means of enlisting the services of Mistress Dorothy, a young sinner. Consequently only the substitution is borrowed from the *Gerardo*:

The bawd, as a young woman recuperating from a couple of misadventures in love, takes up her abode in an inn. Soon lovers almost collide in her room, but she selects the young innkeeper as a promising husband, and to him she presents a false front of perfect chastity. She wins her man easily, but fears the test of the wedding night. A maidservant, she learns, is a virgin, and is rather eager to take the bride's honors.

A couple of pages³⁰ practically cribbed from Digges's translation of Isdaura's letter from the convent detail the deception and land the servant girl in the well.

Yet the tale had not run its course in the book marts of the century. It made another appearance, with Isdaura and the other principals bearing aliases, in *The Famous History of Auristella, Orig-*

²⁷ II, ii, pp. 23-24.

²⁸ The collection of tales (Venice, 1651) is prefaced by a letter to the Accademia, signed by Maiolino Bisaccioni. Novella vigesima settima, pp. 192-95 of Part III.

²⁹ Richard Head and Francis Kirkman, *The English Rogue*, The Third Part (London, Anne Johnson for Francis Kirkman, 1674), Chapter III. (Reprint, 1874.)

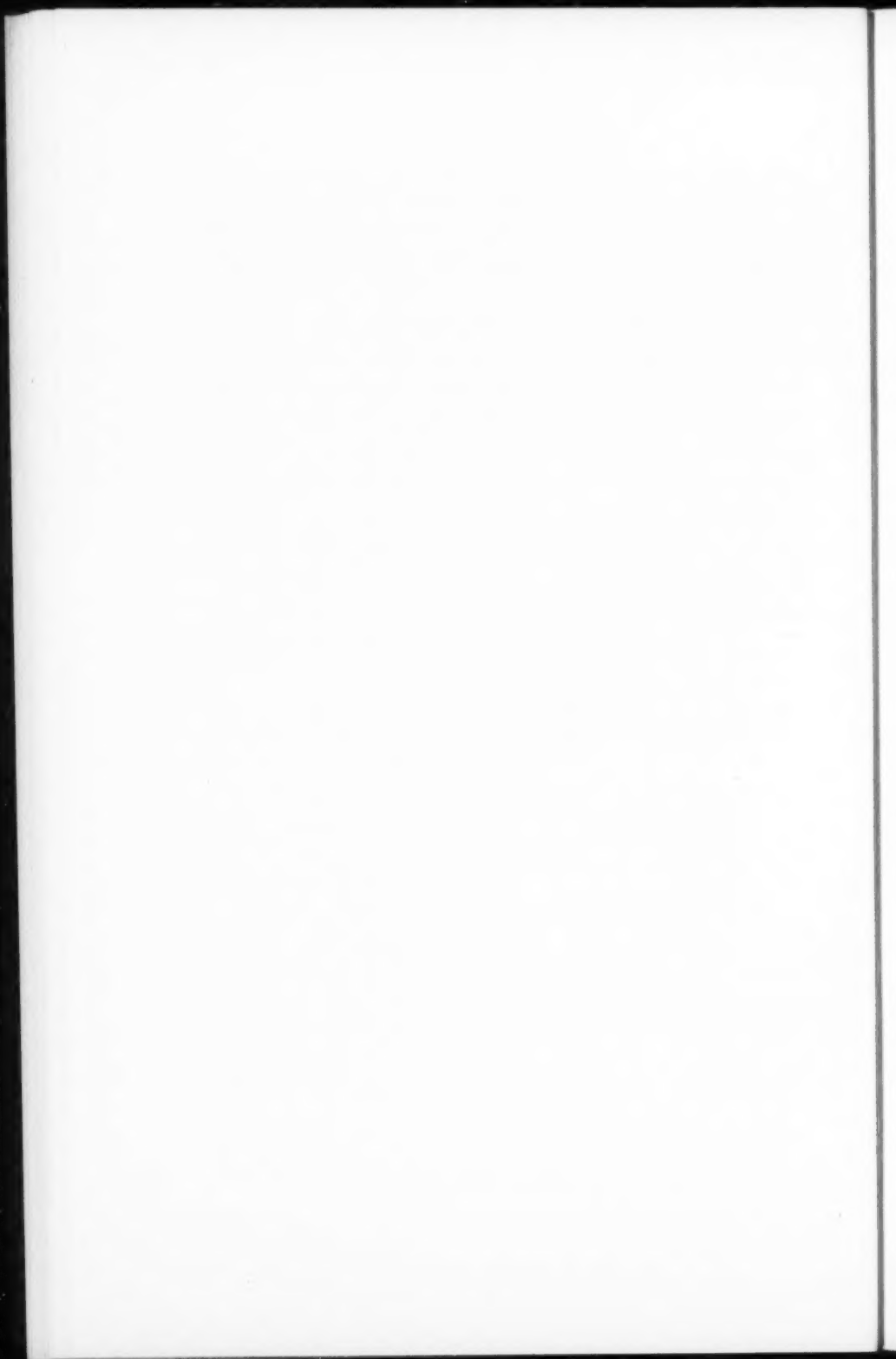
³⁰ Pp. 28-30; cf. Digges, 1622, pp. 105-07.

inally written by Don Gonsalo de Cepedes [sic], 1683.³¹ The translator was possibly ignorant of the 1622 and 1653 editions of the English translation of the *Gerardo*. A check may prove that the 1683 translation came from a French collection, *Histoires nouvelles traduites de divers auteurs espagnols* (1671), in the first volume of which occurs "L'Histoire d'Isidaure."

The Murdered Substitute tale, then, was a cold little story in its Oriental form. Analysis has shown that in its earliest European form it was adapted to Christian feelings by the addition of the Penitence ending. Later the tale was made a dignified and harmonious whole by the new introduction, which itself had two forms represented independently in the *Marques de Rome* and in Klapper. The European form, with versions in Irish, Monk's Latin, Old French, Middle High German, and Middle English, was taken up, probably from some now non-extant version, by Cespedes y Meneses, who rationalized it, fitted it into a Spanish setting, and presented it with a narrative skill not frequent at that date outside of Spain. The Italian Bonadies merely decorated the Spanish tale with artificial flowers; *The Bastard* employed portions of it in a hardly exalted tragedy. Kirkman, in *The English Rogue*, presented it naked, with a smirk. In *The Changeling*, if my hypothesis is accepted, the story achieved genuine significance by occasioning the dramatists' conception of De Flores.

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³¹ The volume also contains a translation of Quevedo's *La Vida del Buscón*. H. Thomas, "English Translations of Quevedo's *Buscón*," *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 81 (1933), pp. 285-86, describes the volume.



SHELLEY'S USE OF SOURCE MATERIAL IN *CHARLES I*

By KENNETH NEILL CAMERON

Shelley's fragmentary play, *Charles I*, offers unusual opportunities for studying his method of using source materials, opportunities which, so far, have been only partly exploited. Medwin intimated that the basic source for the play was Hume's *History of England*,¹ and Walter Francis Wright, in his article "Shelley's Failure in *Charles I*,"² supports this view—although he is apparently unaware of Medwin's comments—and suggests some derivations from Hume. Mr. Wright's reason for thus giving prominence to Hume is that he is the only historian of the period mentioned in Shelley's letters during the years in which he was working on or thinking about the play.³

If, however, we turn from the letters to the journals and reading lists of Shelley and Mary, we find two other historians mentioned. In the journal for October 9, 1819, we find the notation, "Shelley begins Clarendon," and on November 5, 6, and 9 he "reads Clarendon aloud";⁴ and "4 vols. of Clarendon's History" comes in Mary's reading list for 1816.⁵ In the reading list for 1820, we find (marked as read by Shelley) "Mrs. Macaulay's *History of England*."⁶ Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, best known perhaps to students of literature as one of the chief female *bêtes noires* of Dr. Johnson, was a late eighteenth-century radical, whose once popular eight-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover*⁷ covers the subject matter for Shelley's play in much greater detail than does Hume or Clarendon, and has a pro-Commonwealth and anti-Royalist bias akin to Shelley's own.⁸

¹ Thomas Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, 1847), II, 164.

² *ELH*, VIII (1941), 41-46.

³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 43.

⁴ *Shelley and Mary*, II, 420, 436. (Photostatic copy in the Library of Congress.)

⁵ Newman I. White, *Shelley* (New York, 1940), II, 542. Mary, apparently through an oversight, lists the work twice.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 545.

⁷ London, 1763-1783. An account of Mrs. Macaulay is included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In addition to her history, she wrote also replies to Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" and his "Reflections on the Revolution in France," and was highly praised by Shelley's beloved Mary Wollstonecraft. In 1785 she visited George Washington at Mount Vernon.

⁸ Shelley, like all early nineteenth-century radicals, regarded the Puritan revolution as one of the great triumphs of the forces of liberty. As early as February 27, 1812, he expressed admiration for Hampden (after whom the radical "Hampden Clubs," founded by Major Cartwright and supported

(in contrast to the Toryism of Clarendon and the skepticism of Hume). In addition to these three we must include also, on the strength of internal evidence, Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to the Happy Restoration of King Charles the Second*.⁹ Shelley does not mention the work, but it was recommended to Mary in 1818 by Godwin when he proposed that she write a book on the Commonwealth,¹⁰ and it is not improbable that he sent it to her. That Shelley may also have used other histories is possible, but there is no mention of them, and, as he was writing in Italy, it is unlikely that he had many more works than these with him. In 1818,

by Byron, were named). See Letter to Elizabeth Hitchener, *The Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck, Julian edition [New York, 1926], VIII, 284.) In *A Philosophical View of Reform*, written during the period in which he was contemplating *Charles I*, he sums up his views on Charles and the revolution: "From England then first began to pass away the stain of conquest. . . . By rapid gradation the nation was conducted to the temporary abolition of aristocracy and episcopacy, and to the mighty example which, 'in teaching nations how to live,' England afforded to the world—of bringing to public justice one of those chiefs of a conspiracy of privileged murderers and robbers whose impunity has been the consecration of crime" (*Works*, ed. cit., VII, 7). And again: "The Long Parliament, questionless, was the organ of the will of all classes of people in England since it effected the complete revolution in a tyranny consecrated by time" (*ibid.*, p. 22). See also, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 51, *Ode to Liberty*, x, and *Preface to Prometheus Unbound* (on Milton). Medwin's picture of Shelley's admiration for Charles and hatred of the Puritans is clearly part of his attempt to make his hero "respectable"; but he is certainly right in saying that Shelley "abominated" Cromwell's Irish massacres and disliked the general intolerance of Puritan fanaticism; but these Shelley considered as minor factors overshadowed by the great political advance of the Commonwealth (Medwin, *op. cit.*, II, 164-66).

⁹ First published in 1682. The edition I use is that in four volumes issued by the Oxford University Press in 1853.

¹⁰ "The books to be consulted would be comparatively few: Noble's 'Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell'; Whitlock's 'Memorials of English Affairs under Charles the First'; Ludlow's 'Memoirs'; Colonel Hutchinson's 'Memoirs'; the Trial of the Twenty-nine Regicides; the Trial of Sir Henry Vane; also Dying Speeches of Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead" (Godwin to Mary, June 8, 1818, *Shelley and Mary*, I, 281-82). With the exception of Whitelocke, all these works deal almost entirely with a period later than that covered in *Charles I*. Lucy Hutchinson and Ludlow sketch over the pre-Civil War period in their early pages, but I note nothing to indicate a debt by Shelley, although Mrs. Hutchinson's anti-royalism would, if he read the work, have struck a chord in his heart. He may also have read Burnett's similar sketch at the opening of his *History of My Own Times*, for he sent to Ollier for the book, but I can see no evidence of indebtedness (*Works*, ed. cit., X, 184, 243). For a list of the main historical works on the period available in Shelley's time see Godfrey Davies, *Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period, 1603-1714* (Oxford, 1928). I have consulted the more probable of these (Rushworth, Oldmixon, Rapin) but fail to find evidence that Shelley made use of any of them. Some of the material from Hume and Mrs. Macaulay originates in John Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (London, 1721), but there is nothing here that Shelley could not have taken from these other sources, and it is unlikely, in any case, that he would have had Rushworth's eight rare and bulky volumes with him in Italy.

when Mary thought of writing a play on the Commonwealth, she had to drop it, because of a lack of source materials.¹¹

For his picturesque opening scene of the Masque, Shelley was clearly indebted to Whitlocke's *Memorials*. Neither Clarendon nor Hume mentions this masque—put on by the Inns of Court to welcome Charles back from Scotland in 1633—and Mrs. Macaulay devotes only one paragraph to it.¹² Whitlocke, however, has a special reason for treating it in detail: as "Master of the Revels and treasurer of the Inner Temple" he was placed in charge of the music for the performance.¹³ The relevant passages from his account are as follows:

Then came the first chariot of the grand maskers, which was not so large as those which went before, but most curiously framed, carved, and painted with exquisite art, and purposely for this service and occasion. The form of it was after that of the Roman triumphal chariots, as near as could be gathered by some old prints and pictures extant of them: the seats in it were made of an oval form in the back end of the chariot so that there was no precedence in them, and the faces of all that sat in it might be seen together.

The colours of the first chariot were silver and crimson, given by the lot to Gray's Inn, as I remember; the chariot was all over painted richly with these colours, even the wheels of it, most artificially laid on, and the carved work of it was as curious for that art, and it made a stately show. It was drawn with four horses abreast, and they were covered to their heels all over with cloth of tissue, of the colours of crimson and silver, huge plumes of red and white feathers on their heads and buttocks; the coachman's cap and feather, his long coat, and his very whip and cushion, of the same stuff and colour.¹⁴

After the horsemen came the antimaskers; and as the horsemen had their music, about a dozen of the best trumpeters proper for them, and in their

¹¹ Mrs. Julian Marshall, *The Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (London, 1889), I, 216-17. See also Mary's note to the poems of 1822. Godwin himself later wrote his *History of the Commonwealth of England* (London, 1824-1828).

¹² Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 161-62.

¹³ Whitlocke, *op. cit.*, I, 30, 53-54. Clarendon—Edward Hyde—was also a member of the arrangements committee. Milton's friend, Henry Lawes, composed some of the music. Shirley wrote the words and entitled the masque "The Triumph of Peace."

I have considered the possibility that Shelley might have used some writer who quoted extensively from Whitlocke on this masque, but this seems ruled out by the fact that Shelley also uses passages from other sections of the *Memorials*, and I have found no work available to Shelley that made such use of Whitlocke. Whitlocke's account of the masque is the classic source on which all subsequent historians rely. Shelley may, however, have used one other work which gives a description of the masque: namely, Shirley's own directions for it in "The Triumph of Peace." Shirley's account, however, although parallel to Whitlocke's in many respects, omits some of the characteristic details in which Shelley parallels Whitlocke—especially on the anti-masque—and it seems unlikely that Shelley would have an edition of Shirley's works with him in Italy, as Shirley is a writer in whom he had little if any interest. The relevant passages in "The Triumph of Peace" will be found in Alexander Dyce's edition of Shirley's works (London, 1833), VI, 257-61.

¹⁴ Whitlocke, *op. cit.*, I, 58-59.

livery, sounding before them, so the first antimask, being of cripples and beggars on horseback, had their music of keys and tongs, and the like, snapping and yet playing in a consort before them.

These beggars were also mounted, but on the poorest leanest jades that could be gotten out of the dirt-carts or elsewhere; and the variety and change from such noble music and gallant horses as went before them, unto their proper music and pitiful horses, made both of them the more pleasing.¹⁵

These passages have blended themselves into the following lines (I, 135 ff.) of Shelley's play:

A Marshalman. Give place
To the Marshal of the Masque.

A Pursuivant. Room for the King!

The Youth. How glorious! See those thronging chariots
Rolling, like painted clouds before the wind,
Behind their solemn steeds: how some are shaped
Like curved sea-shells dyed by the azure depths
Of Indian seas; like some new-born moon;
And some like cars in which the Romans climbed
(Canopied by victory's eagle-wings outspread)—
The Capitolian—See how gloriously
The mettled horses in the torchlight stir
Their gallant riders, while they check their pride
Like shapes of some diviner element
Than English air, and beings nobler than
The envious and admiring multitude.

Second Citizen. Ay, there they are,
Nobles, and sons of nobles, patentees,
Monopolists, and stewards of this poor farm, . . .
On whose lean sheep sit the prophetic crows,
Lo, giving substance to my words, behold
At once the sign and the thing signified—
A troop of cripples, beggars, and lean outcasts,
Horsed upon stumbling jades, carted with dung,
Dragged for a day from cellars and low cabins
And rotten hiding-holes, to point the moral
Of this presentment, and bring up the rear
Of painted pomp with misery.

The Youth. 'Tis but
The anti-masque, and serves as discords do
In sweetest music.

And Shelley's haughty marshals, imperiously clearing the way, doubtless come from Whitelocke's picture:

The first that marched were twenty footmen, in scarlet liveries with silver-lace, each one having his sword by his side; a baton in one hand, and a torch lighted in the other hand; these were the marshal's men who cleared the streets, made way, and were all about the marshal, waiting his commands. After them, and sometimes in the midst of them, came the marshal, then Mr. Darrel, afterwards knighted by the king: he was of Lincoln's Inn, an

¹⁵ Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 57.

extraordinary handsome proper gentleman; he was mounted upon one of the king's best horses and richest saddles, and his own habit was exceedingly rich and glorious.¹⁶

Shelley writes:

A Marshalman. Give place, give place!
You torch-bearers, advance to the great gate,
And then attend the Marshal of the Masque
Into the Royal presence.

Shelley, however, gives the scene an anti-monarchist tone, lacking in Whitelocke, in the caustic comments of some of the Puritan spectators. These comments—on the Popish leanings of Laud and the queen, the tyranny of Strafford, Maypole dancing, the corruption of the aristocracy—are a summary of those found in Mrs. Macaulay and, to a lesser extent, in Hume.¹⁷ And it was doubtless from Mrs. Macaulay's vivid picture of the branding of Leighton¹⁸ that he got the idea of dramatically introducing him in this condition among the spectators at the masque.

The initial inspiration for the opening of the second scene apparently also came from Whitelocke, but, once again, Shelley gives the scene an anti-monarchist twist of his own. Whitelocke—none of the others mentions the incident—reports that four gentlemen "sir John Finch, Mr. Gerling, Mr. Hyde, and myself" were sent "to attend the king and queen in the name of the four inns of court, to return their humble thanks for their majesties' gracious acceptance of the tender of their service in the late mask."¹⁹ These thanks were tendered by Finch, and the king answered "with great affability and pleasingness":

Gentlemen, pray assure those from whom you come, that we are exceedingly well pleased with that testimony which they lately gave us of their great

¹⁶ Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 56. Shelley's comment on

this quaint masque which turns,
Like Morning from the shadow of the night,
The night to day (II. 2-4)

is doubtless a reflection of Whitelocke's: "The torches and flaming huge flambeaus borne by the sides of each chariot made it seem lightsome as at noonday, but more glittering, and gave a full and clear light to all the streets and windows as they passed by" (p. 60). For Shelley's noting of the music at the masque (line 131 f.) see Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 54, 57 ff.

¹⁷ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 32-53 (account of Puritan opposition speeches in parliament), 100 ff., 155 f.; David Hume, *The History of England* (Boston, 1850), V, 74, 76.

¹⁸ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 96-100. Mrs. Macaulay alone notes that he was branded ("S S," i.e., "Shower of Sedition") on the face as well as having his ears cut off and his nose slit. Hume (*op. cit.*, V, 74) mentions only that he received a "cruel sentence." Clarendon deems him unworthy of mention. Whitelocke (*op. cit.*, I, 41) notes the mutilation of nose and ears, but not the branding. Shelley's stage direction (following I, i, 87) reads "Enter LEIGHTON (who has been branded in the face). . ."

¹⁹ Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 61-62.

respect and affection to us, which was very acceptable, and performed with that gallantry and in so excellent a manner, that I cannot but give them thanks for it, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the good opinion I have of them, and to do them and you in particular any favour.²⁰

They were then taken to the queen, who told them she "never saw any mask more noble nor better performed."²¹

Shelley, for dramatic reasons, combines these two interviews into one, and makes the spokesman for the delegation not Sir John Finch but Oliver St. John. The king's reply (II, 1 ff.) follows the lines of that in Whitlocke:

King. Thanks, gentlemen, I heartily accept
This token of your service: your gay masque
Was performed gallantly. And it shows well
When subjects twine such flowers of [observance?]
With the sharp thorns that deck the English crown.
A gentle heart enjoys what it confers,
Even as it suffers what it inflicts,
Though Justice guide the stroke.
Accept my hearty thanks.

Into the queen's mouth, however, Shelley puts a most provocative speech (II, 9-28) directed against St. John, whose Puritan sympathies were well known. She asserts that in her own Paris no Puritan opposition to such "sinless sports" would be tolerated—a blow at St. John's fellow lawyer, Prynne²²—and hints that it would be well if Charles had such absolute power as the king of France. St. John replies testily that he would rather enjoy the favor of a "lawful king" than the bought smiles of a despot, and, rather abruptly, leaves with his "gentlemen." Shelley's object in the interview is to stress the opposition of a section of the professional classes to the royalist regime and to introduce the character of St. John, who, as the attorney for Hampden, would presumably have played a prominent part in the second act.²³ Shelley had doubtless read Clarendon's comment on St. John as a "man reserved, of a dark and clouded countenance, very proud,"²⁴ for that is the character which he seems to bear here.

²⁰ Whitlocke, *op. cit.*, I, 62.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

²² The queen was especially incensed at Prynne. In his *Histrio Mastrix* he spoke of "women actors" as "notorious whores." This remark Laud showed to the Queen after she had acted in a pastoral, with the suggestion that Prynne intended it for her (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 155 f.; Whitlocke, *op. cit.*, I, 52).

²³ For Shelley's notes on his plan for the first two acts of the play see *Note Books of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (St. Louis, 1911), III, 103-05. Hampden's trial, as I shall later indicate, was to have played an important role in the second act.

²⁴ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford, 1849), I, 261. See also p. 198.

Shortly after the departure of St. John and his gentlemen, Charles, Laud, Strafford, Cottington, and the queen enter into a somewhat frenetic consultation on how to raise money for the wars against the Scots and other projects. The initial idea for this scene doubtless came from a paper presented against Strafford at his trial by young Vane (a character prominent in Shelley's notes for his second act). This paper is printed in full by Whitelocke and Mrs. Macaulay. Hume and Clarendon merely summarize it. Mrs. Macaulay's account follows:

King Charles. How can we undertake offensive war, if we have no more money?

Lord Strafford. Borrow of the city one hundred thousand pounds. Go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your majesty having tried the affection of your people, is absolved and loosed from all rules of government, and to do what power will admit. Your majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months.

Archbishop Laud. You have tried all ways, and have always been refused; it is now lawful to take it by force.

Lord Cottington. Levies abroad there may be made for the defence of the kingdom. The lower house are weary of the king and church. All ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.

Archbishop Laud. For an offensive, not defensive war.

Lord Strafford. The town is full of lords. Put the commission of array on foot and if any of them offer to stir, we will make them smart.²⁵

Shelley expands this—with hints from other sources—into a vividly dramatic scene (II, 64-355), making direct use of Strafford's statement (which proved crucial in his condemnation at his trial) that he opposed the calling of parliament and advocated the bringing of troops from Ireland:

The engine of parliaments
Might be deferred until I can bring over
The Irish regiments: they will serve to assure
The issue of the war against the Scots.
And, this game won—which if lost, all is lost—
Gather these chosen leaders of the rebels,
And call them, if you will, a parliament (II, 343-49).

As for the characters of the king and his ministers, Shelley seems generally in agreement with Mrs. Macaulay. To Mrs. Macaulay, Charles is a tyrant who "ruled England four years despotically," first, by usurping "the power of raising money without consent of the people," second, through imposing "by the judgement of his

²⁵ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 455-56.

Star-Chamber, rigorous and arbitrary penalties on offenses not legally punishable."²⁶ This is also Shelley's concept of the king's policy:

The uttermost
Farthing exact from those who claim exemption
From knighthood: that which once was a reward
Shall thus be made a punishment, that subjects
May know how majesty can wear at will
The rugged mood.—My Lord of Coventry,
Lay my command upon the Courts below
That bail be not accepted for the prisoners
Under the warrant of the Star Chamber (II, 75-80).

Shelley's judgment, however, is somewhat tempered by Hume's and Clarendon's concept of Charles as softhearted and led astray by the extremes of his advisers:²⁷ "Oh, be our feet still tardy to shed blood, / Guilty though it may be!" (II, 350 f.). As to the queen, Shelley would find the fact of her influence over the uxorious Charles in all his sources. The essentially reactionary and pro-Catholic nature of that influence, however, as he depicts it, is, once more, in accord with Mrs. Macaulay:

Though Charles was from his disposition and education infinitely attached to arbitrary principles in government, yet he did not want for stimulations to urge him on towards his natural bias. The queen, to whom he was dotingly attached, entertained him continually with the example of France. The uxorious monarch listened with pleasure to the seductive tales. That that crown had, contrary to the fundamental principles of the constitution, acquired a power to impose taxes and levy money without parliaments; and by its resolute and wise conduct had entirely changed the nature of the government. On the topic of French politics, she insinuated those maxims that Charles held in the greatest veneration, that the power, opulence, and authority of the French clergy were the firm supports of the crown. In this she was well seconded by Laud, and Charles grew every day more fond of a religion whose doctrine was so favourable to these good purposes.²⁸

Shelley has the queen praise French absolutism (II, 14-28), urge despotic rule in England (II, 114-34), and subtly move Charles towards Catholicism (II, 473-88).

So, too, with Laud and Strafford. They are, for Shelley as for Mrs. Macaulay, anti-democratic tyrants, who, along with Charles, formed a despotic triumvirate: "The most active second of Laud in all his arbitrary practices was the lord viscount Wentworth."²⁹

²⁶ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 133. See p. 106 for the penalties on avoiding knighthood; and for general comments on Charles pp. 16 f., 56, 57 ("Charles was now to govern entirely by his council and to raise money by his prerogative"), 88, 129 f.

²⁷ Hume, *op. cit.*, V, 66, 379; Clarendon, *op. cit.*, IV, 539.

²⁸ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 212.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 163; for further comments on Laud see *ibid.*, II, 100-05 (leanings to Catholicism), II, 129-32 (political dictator), IV, 140-54 (execution; character); for Strafford, II, 428-61 (his trial), 476-79 (his execution).

Shelley, too, depicts Laud as the more vicious of the pair. The character of Cottington, on the other hand, seems to have derived from Clarendon's statement that Cottington used to "lead him [Laud] into a mistake, and then drive him into a choler," choosing "to do this most when the king was present."³⁰ This concept of Cottington Shelley follows out in the dialogue between Laud and Cottington (lines 325-42). The picture of Archy, the king's fool, answering "The fool is here," when Laud was called to the throne and, consequently, being sentenced to stand in the rain with his coat pulled over his head (II, 89-106), is present (with minor variations) in both Mrs. Macaulay and Hume:

Archy, the king's fool, who by his office had the privilege of jesting on his master and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too sacred a person to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy, seeing the primate pass by, called to him, 'Who's fool now, my lord?' For this offence Archy was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the king's service.³¹

The inspiration for the third scene (unfinished), the Star Chamber tyranny of Laud and Strafford, came from Whitelocke and Mrs. Macaulay. From Mrs. Macaulay Shelley learned that Prynne and Bastwick were tried "immediately before" Bishop Williams³² and he arranged his scene accordingly. From Mrs. Macaulay, too, he derived the general atmosphere of fanatical persecution and equally fanatical defiance that dominates the scene. But while Mrs. Macaulay gives only a summary of Bastwick's speech, Whitelocke gives a passage from it in full:

That the prelates are invaders of the king's prerogative royal, contemners and despisers of the holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness: also they abuse the king's authority, to the oppression of his loyalest subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice; and in execution of those impious performances they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God or of the king, but of the devil, being enemies of God and of the king, and of every living thing that is good.³³

481-84 (character sketch of him as a "bold and zealous instrument of tyranny"). Shelley's picture of Strafford is close to Mrs. Macaulay's; his picture of Laud—the religious tyrant—is more bitter than hers; both are quite remote from the portraits in Hume, Clarendon, or Whitelocke.

³⁰ Clarendon, *op. cit.*, I, 141.

³¹ Hume, *op. cit.*, V, 88; cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 251. Both Hume and Mrs. Macaulay take the episode from Rushworth (II, 470 f.). The development of Archy's role during the latter part of this scene and in Scene V owes something to *Lear* and possibly to Calderon's *Cisma de l'Inglaterra*. On this latter, see Medwin, *op. cit.*, II, 166.

³² Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 242. Hume, *op. cit.*, V, 83-86, treats the trials as though completely separate, and so also do Clarendon (I, 133 f., 137) and Whitelocke (I, 73-75).

³³ Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 74.

Shelley follows this fairly closely:

Bastwick. Thus, my lords. If, like the prelates, I
Were an invader of the royal power,
A public scorner of the word of God,
Profane, idolatrous, popish, superstitious,
Impious in heart and in tyrannic art,
Void of wit, honesty, and temperance;
If Satan were my lord, as theirs,—our God
Pattern of all I should avoid to do:
Were I an enemy of my God and King
And of good men as ye are; . . .

In the dialogue that next ensues Shelley depicts Laud as an even more imperious villain than does Mrs. Macaulay:

Laud. Officer, take the prisoner from the bar,
And be his tongue slit for his insolence.

Bastwick. While this hand holds a pen—

Laud. Be his hands—

Juxon. Stop! . . .

Laud. Much more such 'mercy' among men would be,
Did all the ministers of heaven's revenge
Flinch thus from earthly retribution. I
Could suffer what I would inflict.

Suggestions for this doubtless came from Mrs. Macaulay's statements that Laud "railed with the utmost gall and bitterness against the unhappy prisoners whilst he magnified his own religious patience in bearing injuries,"⁸⁴ and that "Laud whilst he was sitting in the Star Chamber, being told of Prynne's harangue, moved that he might be gagged,"⁸⁵ a suggestion that the court waived.

The fourth scene (unfinished), the projected flight of Cromwell, Pym, and Hampden for America—concluding with Hampden's magnificent tribute to America—derives from Hume and Mrs. Macaulay. From Mrs. Macaulay's account came the suggestion for the denunciations of the existing state of things in England (IV, 1-6):

The enormous, yet increasing height of monarchical tyranny which raged at this time in England, together with the small prospect of redress which the times promised, occasioned numbers of the natives to sell their estates, and to ship themselves off for America, there to enjoy a liberty lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain. But these avowed destroyers of all the rights of humanity, the bosom-friends and ministers of Charles, unwilling that their fellow-citizens should anywhere possess the blessings of Freedom, prevailed with their master to issue out a proclamation, debarring the adventurous access to those uncultivated shores. Eight ships laying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were stayed by an order of the council. Embarked in these were Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, three men

⁸⁴ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 246.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 248 n.

of spirit, who resolved for ever to abandon a country where the laws had lost their power to protect, and fly to the other extremity of the globe, there to endure a painful solitude in wild deserts, rather than submit to a government that degraded their species beneath the condition of beasts.³⁶

Hume develops the concept of a new freedom in America more than does Mrs. Macaulay, and from his comments, perhaps, came the suggestion for Hampden's speech (which, however, Shelley developed—rather anachronistically—in accord with his own admiration for American democracy).³⁷

The Puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country.³⁸

The play breaks off abruptly with a fragmentary fifth scene, a mournful song by Archy, which, it has been conjectured,³⁹ might have been intended as the concluding scene of the whole play.

Shelley's plans for his second act can be gathered from the following notes from one of his note books (as transcribed by Harry Buxton Forman):

Act 2d Scene 1

Chiefs of the Popular Party, Hampden's trial & its effects—Reasons of Hampden & his colleagues for resistance—young Sir H. Vane's reasons: The first rational & logical, the Second impetuous & enthusiastic.

Reasonings on Hampden's trial p. 222

The King zealous for the Church inheriting this disposition from his father.

This act to open between the two Scotch Wars.

Easter Day 1635

The reading of the liturgy

Lord Traquai

The Covenant

The determined resistance against Charles & the liturgy—

Worse than the worst is indecision

Mary di Medici the Queen came to England in 1638. it was observed that the sword & pestilence followed her wherever she went & that her restless spirit embroiled everything she approached

The King annulled at York

Many unlawful grants &c in wh⁴⁰

In the first act, Shelley had been treating the events of 1633-1637: the masque of the Inns of Court; the debates between Charles

³⁶ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 253-54.

³⁷ It is interesting to compare the speech with Shelley's eulogies of America in *A Philosophical View of Reform* (*Works*, ed. cit., VII, 10-13) and *The Revolt of Islam* (XI, xxii-xxiv).

³⁸ Hume, *op. cit.*, V, 84.

³⁹ Newman I. White, "Shelley's *Charles the First*," *JEGP*, XXI (1922), 437.

⁴⁰ *Note Books of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (St. Louis, 1911), III, 103-05. See also pp. 18-20 for other material possibly connected with *Charles I*.

and his ministers following the king's return from Scotland; the trials of Prynne, Bastwick, and Bishop Williams; the projected emigration of Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell. In the second act he apparently intended to treat the events of 1637-1641. The first scene was to deal with Hampden's trial, either portraying it directly or showing its effects on a gathering of Puritan leaders. A second scene was to represent Charles' attempts to impose the liturgy upon the Scots. "Lord Traquai" is clearly an abbreviation for "Lord Traquaire." The Earl of Traquaire came to London to represent the Scottish cause to Charles, and Shelley's noting of the name may indicate that London and not Scotland provided the setting for his scene, and that he intended to represent the Scottish opposition to Charles by its repercussions in the English court, thus making the scene a continuation of Scene II of Act I, in which Charles and his ministers discuss war against Scotland. For the final scene of the act he seems to have intended the execution of Strafford, an event charged with dramatic incidents (the last meeting with Laud, Strafford's speech on the scaffold). The main purpose of the act as a whole was to reveal the mounting opposition to Charles and his ministers: the stormy and defiant trial of Hampden resulting in a crystallization of Puritan opposition; the growing commotions in Scotland foreshadowing the outbreak of war; the execution of Strafford.

The notation of Mary di Medici does not, it seems to me, imply a separate scene. She visited England in 1638 at the time of the Scottish trouble, and Shelley probably intended to introduce her during one of the other scenes. The notation on Charles at York is presumably a suggestion for Act III, as Charles did not retire to York until after the execution of Strafford, and Shelley indicates that Act II was to end with Strafford's execution.

It is possible also, from these notes, to discover the source material that Shelley intended to use for the second act. That for Hampden's trial he was consulting Mrs. Macaulay's history is interestingly indicated by the notation, "Reasonings on Hampden's trial p. 222." On page 222 of volume two—the volume of the *History* Shelley had been using—we find the "reasonings" of Hampden's attorneys St. John (whom Shelley had already introduced in Act I) and Holbourne, and on page 223 the reasonings of the judges who favored Hampden. Mrs. Macaulay treats the trial in much more detail than does Hume, Clarendon, or Whitelocke, devoting to it a special appendix of twenty-four pages.⁴¹ The com-

⁴¹ The appendix (in small print) is at the end of volume two. Hume devotes a little more than three pages to the trial (V, 88-92). Whitelocke about a page and a half (I, 71-72), Clarendon, who hated the Puritans, one sentence (I, 96-97).

ment that the king was "zealous" for the church, inheriting this disposition from his father, seems to be an echo of Clarendon's comment in the same context (the religious trouble with the Scots) that Charles "inherited that zeal for religion" from his father.⁴² That for the material on the Scottish troubles, Shelley was reading Hume is shown by the notation, "Easter Day 1635." This reference to Easter Day—not to be found in the other historians—arises from a misreading of Hume. Hume writes: "The canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635." Then two paragraphs later, "Easter Day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: but in order to judge more surely of men's dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the twenty-third of July. . . ."⁴³ The year for these latter dates, however, was not 1635 but 1637, although Hume fails to specify this. Shelley apparently believed that Hume was continuing to record the events of 1635. Hume, too, plays up, as the others do not, the terms "liturgy" and "the covenant," and, two pages later, the formation of the covenant.⁴⁴ As a Scotsman, of course, he had a special interest in these events, and so depicted them with unusual vividness. The comments on Mary di Medici are taken almost word for word from Whitelocke:

In October, Mary di Medicies, the queen-mother of France, came into England, the people were generally discontented, at her coming and her followers, which some observed to be the sword or pestilence; and that her restless spirit embroiled all where she came.⁴⁵

The problem of Shelley's sources for *Charles I*, is, it is clear, a more complex one than has been supposed. He had studied the background for his play with some diligence, making use of at least two primary sources, Whitelocke and Clarendon, and two later historians, Hume and Mrs. Macaulay. Of these his most direct debt is to Whitelocke, the only one of the four who influenced the actual wording or the arrangement of scenes (notably the masque scene); and, in interpretation, he is closest to Mrs. Macaulay. Hume appears to have attracted him mainly for his concise sequencing of historical facts, while Clarendon, whose monarchist outlook he found distasteful, seems to have offered little more than occasional hints for characterization. Shelley's method appears to have been to read all four historians in preparation for the writing of an act, noting relevant material from each, and then to compose under the influence of all four, concepts from each mingling in his mind—often inextricably—as he worked. In spite of all this, however, a study

⁴² Clarendon, *op. cit.*, I, 116.

⁴³ Hume, *op. cit.*, V, 97-98.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 97-101; cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 265 ff.; Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 76 ff.; and Clarendon, *op. cit.*, I, 152 ff.

⁴⁵ Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, 85.

of the play certainly leaves the conviction that *Charles I* is as essentially an original play as *The Cenci*. From the sources—as with *The Cenci*—comes the framework only; those qualities of characterization, conflict, and atmosphere which make the play, even in its fragmentary state, a living work of literature, come from Shelley's own dramatic imagination and historical insight.

Whether or not he would have completed the play had he lived, it is difficult to say. Professor White believes that he had laid it aside only temporarily,⁴⁶ and this study of the sources helps to confirm that view, for it seems unlikely that he would have abandoned a work for which he had done such serious and varied reading. Mr. Wright assumes that he had definitely abandoned it, but he bases this opinion largely on the mistaken belief that Shelley shared the depreciatory attitude of Hume toward the Puritan rebels and so felt that "the victory of Cromwell" could not "symbolize freedom."⁴⁷ It is simpler to accept Shelley's own explanation for laying the work aside, namely, that he had difficulty in seizing "the conception of the subject as a whole."⁴⁸ The story of Charles I, with its innumerable characters and crosscurrents of action, tends to an almost bewildering diffuseness (in sharp contrast to the neatly unified story of the *Cenci*), and it was doubtless this structural difficulty that Shelley had in mind.⁴⁹

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⁴⁶ White, "Shelley's *Charles the First*," *JEGP*, XXI (1922).

⁴⁷ "Shelley's Failure in *Charles I*," *ELH*, VIII (1941), 45. This view Mr. Wright supports by a curious misreading of Shelley's statement in a letter to John Gisborne on June 18, 1822 (*Works*, ed. cit., X, 404) that he felt "too little certainty of the future and too little satisfaction with regard to the past to undertake any subject seriously and deeply." On this, Mr. Wright comments, Shelley "implies that he had hoped to find, in the past, evidence hinting toward a better age to come, and that his inability to find such evidence was accompanied by a lack of confidence in the future." The context, however, shows that Shelley is speaking in a personal, not a historical, sense. He means that his poor reception by the reviews and the public in the past made him doubt whether he could achieve fame with his future works. The next sentence in his letter runs: "I stand, as it were, upon a precipice, which I have ascended with great, and cannot descend without greater, peril, and I am content if the heaven above me is calm for the passing moment." For Shelley's views on the Commonwealth see note 8, above.

⁴⁸ Letter to John Gisborne, January 26, 1822 (*Works*, ed. cit., X, 355).

⁴⁹ That, if it had been completed, it might have surpassed even *The Cenci* has been suggested by no less a dramatic critic than St. John Irving (*The Observer*, London, November 19, 1922), and, certainly, even in its fragmentary state it is a work of real dramatic power.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF EARLY AMERICAN JOURNALS TO THE STUDY OF CHARLES DICKENS

By CAROLYN WASHBURN HOUTCHENS and
LAWRENCE HUSTON HOUTCHENS

One source for hitherto unobserved information about Charles Dickens is the early American newspapers and periodicals of the 1830's and 1840's. Up to the present time, the items which scholars have used from these papers have generally reiterated facts already known about important episodes of his visit to America in 1842, but we suggest that some of the shorter items, unrelated to the main currents of news about Dickens at the time, may afford valuable material for the future biographer and student.

Of these, one concerns the possibility of a connection between Dickens and Ellen Tree, the famous Shakespearian actress who became Mrs. Charles Kean. On October 13, 1838, the *New-York Mirror* published two songs by Dickens, "Hail to the merry autumn-days" and "Autumn leaves, autumn leaves, lie strewn around me here."¹ The editorial column for that day remarked that the melodies "have never before been published. They were presented to us by Miss Ellen Tree, and are from a manuscript play now in her possession, written by Boz."² The unnamed play was *The Village Coquettes*. Although the *Mirror* was incorrect in saying that the songs had never before been published, the fact that such a statement was made induces one to believe that the copy of the play in Miss Tree's possession was actually in manuscript, and that the editor may thereby have been misled into presuming that this play, with which he was unfamiliar, had not appeared in print. If the assertion came solely from the celebrated Miss Tree, there is still no reason to suppose her deliberately untruthful.

Assuming that Miss Tree's copy of *The Village Coquettes* was in manuscript, where did she get it? According to Dickens' letters to John Hullah, composer of the music for the comic operetta, and to John Braham, the great tenor who sang the lead, the *Coquettes* was completed by July, 1836.³ It was first performed at the St. James' Theatre on December 6, 1836, but not published until about the end of that month.⁴ Ellen Tree, however, left London for her

¹ *New-York Mirror*, XVI, 122 (October 13, 1838).

² *Ibid.*, 127.

³ *Letters*, ed. Walter Dexter, The Nonesuch Dickens (Bloomsbury, 1938), I, 75. All future references to the collected letters in this article will be to this edition.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 94 n. An American reprint of *The Village Coquettes*, described as the first American edition, was published in the folio edition of the *New World*, I, No. 22 (March 21, 1840).

American tour before the operetta was produced, and arrived in the United States about November 26, 1836.⁵ It appears unlikely that a longhand rather than a printed copy would have been forwarded to her after she reached New York; in fact, it is more probable that she brought the play with her. Although there is no record that Dickens knew the famous actress, a medium of contact may have been his friend Charles Whitehead, in whose play, *The Cavalier*, Miss Tree took a leading part on September 15, 1836.⁶ Through Whitehead, Dickens may have met the actress and given her a copy of *The Village Coquettes*, asking for her opinion of it, or Whitehead himself may have given it to her. On the other hand, Dickens' friend J. P. Harley, then manager of the St. James' Theatre, or Braham, or some other member of the original cast may have been the means of contact. In any event, the possibility of a connection between Dickens and Ellen Tree is a new one for consideration.

More positive in value is the discovery of some unreported information about Dickens in the editorial columns of the *Knickerbocker*, edited for years by Lewis Gaylord Clark. This information is conveyed in partially quoted letters of Dickens to Clark, and in statements which the latter makes about the novelist. Although the verbal accuracy with which these letters are quoted is questionable,⁷ their content is nevertheless interesting, and there seems no reason to doubt the inherent honesty of Clark in his statements about his friend. Dickens and Clark are known to have corresponded for several years prior to and following the novelist's first visit to the United States.⁸ While Dickens was in this country, he was entertained at dinner by Clark,⁹ and the two men, according to the

⁵ For an announcement of her arrival, see the *Albion* for 1836, p. 383.

⁶ Mackenzie Bell, "Charles Whitehead," *DNB* (London, 1937), XXI, 96.

⁷ An otherwise unprinted letter from Dickens to Clark, written apparently early in 1843, is quoted with different wording in the *Knickerbocker*, LVII, 225 (February, 1861), and in the article by L. G. Clark entitled "Charles Dickens" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXV, 379 (August, 1862).

⁸ See L. G. Clark, *op. cit.*, 376-80; also W. G. Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America* (New York, 1911), pp. 7-8.

⁹ A letter from Dickens to Clark is quoted as follows in the *Knickerbocker*, LVII, 224 (February, 1861): "Last Thursday twelve-month," writes Mr. CHARLES DICKENS, in a letter to us dated 'Devonshire-Terrace, London, Second March, 1843,' 'we dined at your house.'" The special guests on this occasion, in addition to Dickens, were Bishop Wainwright, Henry Brevoort, Washington Irving, Henry Cary, David Graham, Jr., Henry Inman, William Cullen Bryant, and Fitz-Greene Halleck (*ibid.*, pp. 224-25).

This same Dickens letter with slightly different wording is quoted again in Clark's article on Dickens in *Harper's*, XXV, 376, where the reference to the dinner is described as having been a postscript: "This day twelvemonth I dined at your house: the pleasantest dinner I enjoyed in America. What a company!" The *Harper's* account of the dinner mentions Mrs. Dickens as a guest.

Knickerbocker,¹⁰ saw a good deal of each other in 1842. Of their correspondence, however, only one letter is reprinted in the Dickens Nonesuch edition;¹¹ no original is listed as preserved in the Huntington Library collection of Dickens letters¹² or elsewhere; and only a few excerpts from Dickens' letters after he had returned to England are quoted by Clark in his 1862 article on Dickens¹³ and in a recently reprinted letter from Clark to Robert Balmanno.¹⁴ As the manuscript copies of Dickens' letters to Clark are missing, and may indeed have been destroyed by fire,¹⁵ the Dickens material in the editorial section of the *Knickerbocker* is valuable, regardless of the verbatim accuracy of its quotations.

The first editorial passage occurs in the October, 1838, *Knickerbocker*, and comments on part of a letter written by Dickens on August 31, in reply to a request from Clark for original articles for the *Knickerbocker*. The quotation from Dickens' letter is significant, not only because it is our first evidence that he ever thought of contributing to the magazine, but because it contains the earliest specific indication that he intended to visit the United States. Two earlier letters of his had expressed a hope "to become better acquainted"¹⁶ with America, and a longing to see "our American friends,"¹⁷ but the following is considerably more definite: "I should be very happy to write for the KNICKERBOCKER, but I do assure you, that I have scarcely time to complete my existing engagements. So I think I must defer this pleasure, until I visit America, which I hope to do before very long, and then I shall be more independent and free, which will be more in keeping."¹⁸ This letter may, indeed, be the one referred to in the editorial columns of the *New-York Mirror* for October 13, 1838: "We have seen a letter from Charles Dickens, the distinguished author of the 'Pickwick Papers,' in which he expresses his intention of making an early visit to New-York in the Great Western. We know of no contemporary writer toward whom a more generous welcome would be extended."¹⁹

¹⁰ *Knickerbocker*, XX, 502 (November, 1842): "We saw a good deal of Mr. DICKENS while in this country, and heard him converse often and freely upon all topics which interested him; but we never heard him speak a disrespectful word of the American press or of an American editor."

¹¹ *Letters*, I, 355-56. This letter is usually mentioned as proof that Clark was the first American to know of Dickens' plan to visit the United States.

¹² Franklin P. Rolfe, "The Dickens Letters in the Huntington Library," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I, 335-63 (April, 1938), and "Additions to the Nonesuch Edition of the Dickens' Letters," *ibid.*, V, 115-40 (October, 1941).

¹³ L. G. Clark, *op. cit.*, 376-79.

¹⁴ Leslie W. Dunlap, ed., *The Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark* (New York, 1940), p. 137.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Letters*, I, 132.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 170.

¹⁸ *Knickerbocker*, XII, 377 (October, 1838).

¹⁹ *New-York Mirror*, XVI, 127 (October 13, 1838).

Approximately a year later, Clark censured *Bentley's Miscellany* for reprinting, without acknowledgment, Washington Irving's contributions to the *Knickerbocker*. Mr. Dickens, asserted Clark, had been asked to exchange the manuscript of *Oliver Twist* for that of the *Crayon Papers*, in order that the two might be published simultaneously in England and America.

He returned for answer, that having retired from the 'Miscellany,' he could not comply with the proposition, (made to, and only known by, himself,) which would otherwise have given him great pleasure; and kindly added, that our readers should have an opportunity of hearing from him *originally*, through these pages. No other proposition than this was authorized to be made by any person; no other ever was made.²⁰

So far as we know, this attempted negotiation has not been pointed out before.

In June, 1840, we find quoted, without date, a letter to Clark from Dickens. This excerpt, too, is important, for it contains Dickens' earliest statement, in a letter, of his interest in international copyright, and his first expression, in a letter, of resentment at his inadequate financial return from the American editions of his works:²¹

Commend me heartily . . . to Mr. WASHINGTON IRVING, who I am rejoiced to see, by the KNICKERBOCKER, has lent his powerful aid to the international copy-right question. It is one of immense importance to me; for at this moment, I have never received from the American editions of my works, fifty pounds. It is of immense importance to the Americans likewise, if they desire (and if they do not, what people on earth should?) ever to have a literature of their own.²²

Finally, as already indicated, certain dispersed statements and quotations in the *Knickerbocker* lead one to believe that Dickens actually promised to write for the magazine, but that for some reason he never fulfilled his promise. Prior to August, 1838, Clark seems to have asked Dickens for a contribution, but to have been refused.²³ In November, 1839, Clark quoted Dickens as having

²⁰ *Knickerbocker*, XIV, 464 (November, 1839).

²¹ Dickens' expression of resentment, if accurately quoted by Clark, is not quite fair to certain American publishers. On October 26, 1837, Dickens wrote to Carey and Company apparently concerning their American edition of *Pickwick*: "I should not feel under the circumstances, quite at ease in drawing upon you for the amount you so liberally request me to consider you my debtors in, but I shall have very great pleasure in receiving from you an American copy of the work, which, coupled with your very handsome letter, I shall consider a sufficient acknowledgment of the American sale" (*Letters*, I, 132-33). For an account of the controversy over the amounts paid Dickens by the American publishers, see the *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, IX, 5-6 (May 1, 1867); *ibid.*, 36-37 (May 15, 1867); *ibid.*, 68-69 (June 1, 1867). According to Henry C. Lea (see *ibid.*, p. 36), Dickens received fifty pounds in 1838 from Carey, Lea, and Blanchard for *Pickwick*.

²² *Knickerbocker*, XV, 529 (June, 1840).

²³ *Ibid.*, XII, 377 (October, 1838).

agreed to provide something original for the *Knickerbocker*,²⁴ and in June, 1840, even announced that the next volume would contain an article by the English novelist.²⁵ Moreover, while Dickens was in the United States, the *Knickerbocker* published a statement which a periodical even then would scarcely have made without some foundation, and which a man of Clark's reputation would certainly never have made had he not believed it to be true:

'L.S.D.' is informed, that when Mr. DICKENS shall have found leisure to revise the MS. of his first paper for the *KNICKERBOCKER*, it will immediately appear. This (and it is by no means surprising) he has as yet found no moment to do. Mr. DICKENS has been solicited, as we learn from the '*Ladies' Companion*,' to write for other American periodicals, but has been compelled peremptorily to decline. His pledge to us is specific and of some standing; and it has recently been renewed with a generous courtesy that will reveal itself in a tangible shape to our readers before many weeks.²⁶

In August, 1842, the *Knickerbocker* reiterated Dickens' promise to contribute—this time as "soon as he shall become settled at home"²⁷—and in October, Clark quoted a letter from Dickens: "I have not forgotten my promise nor your patience. I *will* not forget either."²⁸ Approximately twenty years later, Clark twice reprinted, with different wording, a letter which he said Dickens had written to him while *Martin Chuzzlewit* was first appearing, that is, early in 1843:

I DON'T think you will like 'Chuzzlewit' less as it goes on. I particularly commend Mr. Pinch and a sister of his, who will one day appear upon the scene, to your favorable consideration. . . . Let us lay a wager upon that copy-right business: what impossible odds shall I set against some piece of property of yours, that we shall be in our graves and out of them again in particles of dust impalpable, before those honest men at Washington care one miserable damn for MIND? . . . Ah! that unfulfilled promise of mine! If I should ever have a chapter or scene that I can send to you—but I will lay down no more pieces of stone in the Infernal Pavement.²⁹

Dickens' article, however, never appeared in the *Knickerbocker*.

²⁴ *Knickerbocker*, XIV, 464 (November, 1839).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 540 (June, 1840).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 393 (April, 1842).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, 208 (August, 1842).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XX, 395 (October, 1842).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, LVII, 225 (February, 1861). Clark quoted this letter as follows in his article on Dickens in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXV, 379 (August, 1862):

What impossible odds shall I wager against some piece of property of yours, that we shall not be in our graves, and out of them, in particles of dust, impalpable, before those worthy men at Washington, in their earthy riots, care one miserable d—n for Mind? I believe that, in this respect, Justice and the Millennium will walk down the shore of Time together.

Farther down the page, Clark gave two more passages which, on the basis of his statements here and in the *Knickerbocker*, LVII, 225 (February, 1861), we judge to be from the same letter:

When I finish a chapter of ———, which has an entire scene, capable of segregation, I can promise to send ———. But I will lay down no more pieces of stone in the Infernal pavement.

I never commit thoughts to paper until I am obliged to write, being better able to keep them in regular order, on different shelves of my brain, ready ticketed and labeled to be brought out when I want them.

In addition to the *New-York Mirror* and the *Knickerbocker*, two more journals of the day have contributed to our knowledge of Dickens. When he first came to the United States, at least two, and possibly more, newspapers carried an extensive but inaccurate account of his life. One version appeared on January 29, 1842, in the *Bunker-Hill Aurora*, a Saturday weekly published in Boston and edited by W. W. Wheildon.³⁰ The following week, on February 5, the day that Dickens left Boston for Worcester,³¹ the *Aurora* acknowledged a letter from Mr. Dickens, protesting that

... the sketch of his life, as published in our last paper, contains statements respecting his birth, and parentage and that of Mrs. Dickens, which are entirely new to him. The sketch was chiefly taken by us from one of the city papers, for which we believe, it was abridged from one of the Philadelphia journals.³²

After Dickens had reached New York, he apparently wrote similar objections to another editor, Edmund B. Green,³³ for on February 26, the *New World*³⁴ quoted from an unnamed source the following letter from Dickens. To the best of our knowledge, this letter has not been reprinted since then.

CARLTON HOUSE, NEW YORK, }
February 14th, 1842. }

MY DEAR SIR—

I see you have taken my life into your paper. It is so wildly imaginative, and so perfectly new to me, I could not help writing to the editor of the *Bunker Hill Aurora*, (in which I first saw it) to compliment him on the rich fancy of its author, whose imaginative biography, both of myself and my better half, is the most remarkable invention I ever met with.

If I enter my protest against its being received as a strictly veracious account of my existence down to the present time, it is only because I may one of these days be induced to lay violent hands upon myself—in other words attempt my own life—in which case, the gentleman unknown, would be quoted as authority against me.

Always faithfully yours,
CHARLES DICKENS.

TO EDMUND B. GREEN, ESQ.

Aside from the correspondence preserved in various newspapers and magazines, an interesting fact about Dickens has been disclosed

Another question is raised by a reference in the *Knickerbocker*, XVIII, 272 (September, 1841), to Dickens' "sketch of the Undertaker's Apprentice." Does this refer merely to Noah Claypole in *Oliver Twist*, or perhaps to a lost early sketch by Boz?

³⁰A rare copy of this issue is in the Boston Public Library.

³¹W. G. Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³²*Bunker-Hill Aurora*, XVI, No. 6 (February 5, 1842).

³³We have been unable to identify Edmund B. Green through any of the usual channels. His name does not appear in either the New York or the Boston city directories for this period. Unfortunately the *New World* does not name the newspaper which Green apparently edited.

³⁴*New World*, IV, 143 (February 26, 1842).

somewhat indirectly by the New York *Albion*, which, on March 21, 1835, reprinted the second chapter of a "Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle" with the following sentences appended to the conclusion we know:

He left a variety of papers in the hands of his landlady—the materials collected in his wanderings among different classes of society—which that lady has determined to publish, to defray the unpaid expenses of his board and lodging. They will be carefully arranged, and presented to the public from time to time, with all due humility, by

Boz.⁵⁵

The discovery of this unfamiliar conclusion led to a comparison of the *Albion* reprint with the story as it had first appeared in the London *Monthly Magazine* for February, 1835, a comparatively rare issue in this country. The identical conclusion was found. Evidently Dickens had originally planned to write a series of Watkins Tottle papers, but by the time he reprinted the narrative in his *Sketches by Boz*, February, 1836, he had changed his mind, for here he omitted the passage and signature just quoted, and substituted:

There appears but too much reason to suppose that Mr. Tottle was the individual who was found in the water, and has never since been found out.⁵⁶

This sentence was likewise eliminated from the version which Dickens subsequently adopted.⁵⁷ These curious alterations in text have for some reason been overlooked by Messrs. Hatton and Cleaver in their excellent Dickens bibliography.

On the whole, the foregoing facts about Dickens complement our knowledge of him sufficiently to suggest that contemporary American newspapers and periodicals may prove a valuable source of information not only about him but also about other nineteenth-century English authors.

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⁵⁵ The *Albion* for 1835, 93 (March 21, 1835).

⁵⁶ Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz* (London, 1836), II, 76. This conclusion appears in the American reprint: *Watkins Tottle, and Other Sketches . . . By Boz* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1836), I, 56.

⁵⁷ Charles Dickens, *Sketches by "Boz"* (London: John Dicks, 1839), 160.

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Prepared by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>Arch. Camb.</i> | Archæologia Cambrensis |
| <i>Comp. Lit. Studies</i> | Comparative Literature Studies. Cahiers de Littérature Comparée (Cardiff) |
| <i>Ger. Rev.</i> | Germanic Review |
| <i>JAF</i> | Journal of American Folklore |
| <i>JEGP</i> | Journal of English and Germanic Philology |
| <i>LTLS</i> | London Times Literary Supplement |
| <i>MLN</i> | Modern Language Notes |
| <i>MLQ</i> | Modern Language Quarterly |
| <i>MLR</i> | Modern Language Review |
| <i>MP</i> | Modern Philology |
| <i>N&Q</i> | Notes & Queries |
| <i>RES</i> | Review of English Studies |
| <i>RFE</i> | Revista de Filología Española |
| <i>RR</i> | Romanic Review |

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REVIEWS

The Legends of Ermanaric. By CAROLINE BRADY. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943. Pp. x + 341. \$3.00.

Concerning Ermanaric (†ca. A.D. 376), powerful king of the Ostrogoths, the residue of historical facts are three: (1) his tremendous kingdom extended westward from the Don to the Theiss (Tisa), northward from the Euxine to the Baltic; (2) his resistance against the invading Huns under Balamber was long and determined; (3) his death was by his own hand. Thus, Ammianus Marcellinus, creditable historian; thus, too, the Gothic annalist Jordanes (Gibbon's *Jornandes*), who, however, omitting the suicide, styles Hermanaricus "nobilissimus Amalorum," compares him to Alexander the Great, and enumerates his sundry conquests, in which (especially in the conquest of the Heruli), according to Professor Caroline Brady, "lies the kernel of a legendary tradition" which, in its German phase of the Middle Ages, makes of Ermanaric a ferocious tyrant who, despite the historical record, supplants Odoacer as the persecuting enemy of that Gothic Theodoric (Malone dissenting) who came to celebrity as Dietrich von Bern.

In phases other than the German, the identical historical residue, contends Professor Brady, gives rise to a conflicting tradition with respect to the character of the Ostrogoth king. Chiefly responsible for the variant tenor of the legends, in Professor Brady's opinion, is the point of view of the narrating people. The Eormenric of Anglo-Saxon tradition, although "a grim king of wolfish mind" (*Deor*, ll. 21 ff.), an enemy of Hama (*Beowulf*, ll. 1197 ff.), and an "evil truce breaker" (*Widsið*, l. 9), has become—again despite the historical record—the foe of a mightier Hun than Balamber, Attila (*Widsið*, ll. 18, 119 ff.), a lord of a group of renowned heroes (*Widsið*, ll. 109 ff.), and, redeemingly enough, a "generous giver of rings" (*Widsið*, ll. 90 ff.). The Jarmericus of Danish provenance, under the skillful reconciling hand of that "reasoning historian" Saxo, is, on the one hand, a splendid illustration of legend transformed into "history." The *Jǫrmunrekkr* of Norse tradition, on the other hand, is, with utter disregard of ancient authorities, a notable example of history becoming legend. With respect to this process Professor Brady generalizes: "As history becomes legend we see two great forces at work, always: the leveling out of boundaries of space and time; and the reinterpretation of tradition in terms of the historical, geographical, and legendary knowledge of the various poets telling the story."

The legendary development based on the historical Ermanaric, assumes, according to Professor Brady, three forms: Ermanaric as the slayer of his nephews the Harlungs; Ermanaric as the persecutor

of Dietrich von Bern (both originally independent legends attached to Ermanaric "at a comparatively late date"); and, most interesting of all, that story of Sunilda (Swanhild) which is "neither pure fiction nor pure history, but . . . heroic legend." With admirable thoroughness and clarity Professor Brady traces "the progress of the Swanhild legend from its first kernel, the death of Ermanaric, and the fall of his kingdom . . . , through its development in the hands of Norse poets, to its ultimate end in a ballad [*Erminrikes Dôt*] of the fifteenth century." This study reveals Swanhild's legend as a transformation from a "political tragedy of a nation" to a "personal tragedy of a king." In this instance, as in the other two, Professor Brady concludes that "the point of view and the legendary, cultural, and historical background of each of the peoples telling the story were the most influential factors in the development of the Ermanaric legends."

This conclusion, though reasonable enough, scarcely requires the emphasis it here receives. So comprehensive a study—a veritable mountain of legend—need bring forth no such mouse. Over-emphasis, it may be noted, is not confined to the main thesis; it occurs, chiefly in the form of superfluous repetition (cf. pp. 1-3, 165, 177), in connection with several points, and is found even in the excellent Notes (p. 185, n. 19). Throughout the discussion, moreover, there is a weightiness of conviction ("undoubtedly," "doubtless," "beyond doubt," "indubitably," "there can be slight doubt," etc.) which, in an interpretative investigation of this character, carries its own contra-suggestibility. Both Text and Notes are occasionally enlivened by vigorous tilting with no less a scholar than Kemp Malone. A judicious use of the very full index with which the work is provided (v. Malone) is rewarding. By her systematic assembling of the *Airmanareiks* material and her penetrating analysis of its divergent transformations, Professor Brady has made a valuable contribution toward understanding the complex relations between the historical and the legendary Ermanaric.

STANLEY RYPINS

Brooklyn College

Henry von Heiseler: A Russo-German Writer. By ANDRÉ VON GRONICKA. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University Germanic Studies, No. 16, 1944. Pp. x + 224. \$2.75.

This interesting and eminently readable study analyzes not only the creative work of Henry von Heiseler, which is practically unknown in America, but presents this poet and translator as an important mediator in Russo-German literary relations. To what extent von Heiseler's own work will endure and become better known than it is today is difficult to predict; political considerations and the future development of Russo-German relations may strongly influence his popularity. The fact that von Heiseler was a bitter critic

of the Bolshevistic regime and finally escaped from compulsory service in the Soviet government will hardly serve to make him acceptable as an interpreter of the new Russia. His individualism, his cosmopolitanism, and his opposition to authoritarianism link him more strongly to the nineteenth than to the twentieth century. He was an aristocrat in every sense of the word, not only in background and family tradition, but especially in his cultural and literary proclivities. Hence it is easy to see why von Heiseler should have come under the influence of Stefan George, when he met the latter in the winter of 1901, and was looked upon as a member of the "Georgekreis." But like other independent writers, von Heiseler eventually refused to make the necessary personal sacrifices in the service of the "Master" and was henceforth treated as a renegade by critics like Wolfskehl and Wolters. His participation in the pageants of the "Georgekreis" and his association with the *Blätter für die Kunst* indicate real kinship. A more detailed presentation of this literary friendship as well as of von Heiseler's association with Gerhart Hauptmann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and other important figures of the literary world would have been very welcome as a part of this study. Somehow it is difficult to avoid the feeling that Henry von Heiseler gains significance in a large measure because of his literary associations, though this study is naturally concerned with the writer in his own right and devotes itself to an analysis of his literary career.

Mr. von Gronicka's study was made possible through the active coöperation and support of Bernt von Heiseler, the author's son, who furnished much published and unpublished material. The volume is divided into two main sections; Part One: the man and author; and Part Two: the works, followed by a useful chronology of Henry von Heiseler's life, a chronological list of works, and a valuable bibliography.

In dealing with von Heiseler's critical estimates of poets and literature Mr. von Gronicka reveals some curious attitudes: Browning in von Heiseler's opinion is "a seer and prophet of the soul of the very loftiest rank; in this respect he is superior to all the poets of the world, with the sole exception of the inimitable Shakespeare" (p. 63). Such an evaluation shows of course von Heiseler's independent and personal judgments and indicates his own literary orientation. In dealing with his contemporaries he was able to recognize achievement and talent even when his own predilections lay in other directions. Thus he singles out Hauptmann and Tolstoi "as the greatest masters of character delineation . . . of life 'in the round' and of genuine life in world literature. Neither Goethe nor Shakespeare has created such rounded living forms as are, for instance, Natasha or Fuhrmann Henschel" (p. 64).

Von Heiseler's translations from the French, English, and Russian are also a significant part of his total work. His translations from the English are particularly interesting for us. He translated Keats, Swinburne, Shakespeare (until Gundolf began to publish his

translation in 1908), Browning, and most successfully of all, the work of William Butler Yeats (though copyright difficulties prevented their public distribution).

Von Heiseler's own work received stylistic influences from Hofmannsthal and George and eventually aimed at a "vital realism" that is revealed in his best works, *Der junge Parzival* and *Wawas Ende*. Mr. von Gronicka shows commendable restraint in his discussions of von Heiseler's achievement in the field of the lyric and the drama and deserves credit for an excellent monograph which adds much new information about an interesting and little known modern author.

The volume is attractively printed and contains a death mask of von Heiseler as a frontispiece. Typographical errors are more numerous than they ought to be, but present-day difficulties of seeing a book through the press probably explain these annoying trifles. Among them were noticed such misprints as *thought* for *though* (p. 29), *Deutschland* (p. 45), *Wahlverwandschaften* (p. 62), *scienza* for *scienza* (p. 77), *Weltuntergagsmärchen* (p. 82), *similarity* (p. 88), *des* for *das* (p. 129), period missing at end of footnote 61 (p. 147), *Studenglas* (p. 198), *Zeitschrift* (p. 207), *Iskender* for *Iskander* (p. 207), as well as the indiscriminate use of *Georgian* and *Georgian* on pp. 123 ff.

WALTER A. REICHART

University of Michigan

De la vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers. By LOYS LE ROY. Selections with an Introduction by BLANCHARD W. BATES. Pp. vii + 54.

Extraits sur la loi, la liberté et le gouvernement anglais. By MONTESQUIEU. With an introductory essay by ROGER B. OAKE. Pp. xiv + 46.

Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature anglaise. By H. TAINÉ. Avec des remarques préliminaires par GILBERT CHINARD. Pp. xix + 29.

Les Sciences de la nature et les sciences historiques (Lettre à Marcellin Berthelot) & *L'Avenir de la science* (Chapitres II et XVI). By ERNEST RENAN. With an introduction by IRA O. WADE. Pp. xxi + 43.

Princeton: Princeton Texts in Literature and the History of Thought, Romance Section, Vols. 1-4, 1944. Fifty cents each.

This new collection should prove useful to philosophers, political scientists, historians, and even natural scientists, as well as to students of literature. It aims to make generally available important and significant texts not readily accessible elsewhere. Main chapters or parts of works rather than brief selections are presented together with a critical estimate and bibliographical and biographical ma-

terial. Printing and paper are of high quality and the low cost should permit wide diffusion among teachers and students alike. The discriminating choice of texts and the able, stimulating introductions to these first volumes lead one to hope that general use will permit and encourage the rapid extension of the series.

Loys le Roy is almost forgotten today, and yet perhaps no work gives a better insight into the fine flowering of French Renaissance scholarship than does his *De la Vicissitude* (1575), where he attempts a synthetic view of the development of civilization, past and present. In the portions reprinted here we have a triumphal summary of Renaissance achievement, comparable in tone with Gargantua's letter to his son though far more comprehensive. We see also at first hand the gropings of a Renaissance mind, still held back in part by a strange mixture of astrology, Christianity, and Platonism, yet slowly disengaging a fundamental concept of human progress. The text, however, might have been made accessible to more readers if the spelling had been modernized and a glossary added.

While Montesquieu's works are not out of print, the selections given here present in convenient form his main conclusions on law, liberty, and the English nation. The interesting and rarely read *Notes sur l'Angleterre* are added so that we may compare first impressions with final estimates. In a clear, succinct summary of the basic principles of Montesquieu's thought, Mr. Oake points out that his development is less capricious and unsystematic than is often thought and thus offers a valuable guide to a reader picking his way among the complexities and apparent contradictions of Montesquieu's many-faceted work.

The republication of Taine's *Introduction*, hitherto out of print, is timely. Notable for its contributions to the philosophy of history, it was written at a critical time in the relationships of literature and science, and the subsequent development of literary history stems largely from this work. We are now in a similar critical period, and, in judging these problems today, it is well to review the philosophical generalizations which Taine sets forth and to see, by weighing his reasoning, just how weak in certain cases are the premises upon which our thinking has implicitly rested.

Renan faced the same problems as Taine, but he sought unity not in a rigid system of "psychological mechanics" but in a half-Hegelian, half-mystic synthesis of all knowledge in history. He shows a strong tendency to invest science with an aura of religiosity. This cult, limited today to the natural sciences, is one of the strongest current popular conceptions; witness the rapturous, almost devout panegyrics of Science on certain radio programs. Renan also did much to encourage the development of the anthropological concept that literature is valuable only as a manifestation of culture; this too has infiltrated into our thinking in spite of serious weaknesses in his arguments.

HUNTER KELLENBERGER

Brown University

The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino. By PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER. Translated by VIRGINIA CONANT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xiv + 441. \$4.50.

Since there has been no translation or previous study of Ficino in English, and only scanty interpretations of Ficino's philosophy in any language, this book by a refugee German scholar is a pioneer enterprise.

The relative neglect of Ficino by historians of philosophy is the result of a number of factors. The early Renaissance is famous more for its humanistic and artistic interests than for its philosophical activity; and even the outstanding thinker of the period, Nicholas of Cusa, is not very well known. Ficino's main reputation, moreover, has been achieved as an elegant commentator and translator of Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, and other neo-Platonists, rather than as a philosopher in his own right. Dr. Kristeller is convinced, nevertheless, that the philosophy of this period has been unduly neglected, and that Ficino, despite his obvious indebtedness to previous thinkers, is a forceful and independent philosopher, who exercised a widespread and powerful influence on subsequent generations.

Since Ficino, as a commanding figure in the brilliant circle that gathered about Lorenzo de' Medici, included among his friends the leading humanists and scholars of the age, a study of his relations with other men of talent should prove richly rewarding. Dr. Kristeller has concentrated, however, upon an exposition of Ficino's thought, with relatively little indication of its historical context. I am inclined to think that the nature and significance of Ficino's philosophy would have been more clearly revealed if there had been a fuller discussion of his sources and influence, and particularly his relations to contemporary movements of life and thought. For example, it would have been illuminating to contrast the religious and humanistic bent of the Platonic Academy of Florence, of which he was the leader and founder, with the scientific and naturalistic orientation of the Aristotelian school of Padua.

His main intellectual frame of reference is that tradition which Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy has so skillfully traced, the tradition of "the great chain of being," of a universe in which all degrees of value and existence are actualized, from least to greatest, in an infinite, continuous, hierarchical series, culminating in God as the Mystic Unity. Although his thinking was based upon this tradition, upon the speculative and mystical premises of neo-Platonism and Augustinianism, and to a lesser extent upon scholasticism and Aristotelianism, his conscious cult of love and friendship, his doctrine of the dignity of man, and his sense of the worth of the individual, give to his thought its distinctive, Renaissance tinge. Dr. Kristeller declares: "Man and his attitudes constitute the point of departure of Ficino's philosophy. In this fact we must look for the secret of his historical, philosophical, and human influence and significance."

Yet we must not suppose that his thinking coincides with recent humanism. He is too optimistic, mystical, speculative, and metaphysical, too little concerned with social problems, for us to detect in his pages "the still, sad music of humanity" as we know it today. His purpose, far from exploring human life in its natural setting, is to establish the congruence between Platonic philosophy and Christian religion. In his exegesis, moreover, Platonism becomes a philosophical theology, and Christianity becomes a religious metaphysics. Unlike Plato, he has not harkened to the difficult language of facts; this is one measure of his lesser genius. In seeking to reconcile Plato and Moses, neo-Platonism and Christianity, however, he abandons the subordination and dependency of philosophy as it was upheld throughout the Middle Ages, and thus becomes a harbinger of the modern age.

Dr. Kristeller's book is a very competent guide through an intricate maze of doctrine. It is to be hoped that it will eventually be supplemented by a translation of Ficino and a fuller study of the historical affiliations of his thought.

MELVIN RADER

University of Washington

The Earliest English Poetry: A Critical Survey of Poetry Written before the Norman Conquest, with Illustrative Translations. By CHARLES W. KENNEDY. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. viii + 384. \$3.00.

After generations of intensive scholarship devoted to Old English literature, we are still poor in general studies, at once authoritative and readable, which may be used by both teachers and advanced students in the field. Professor Kennedy's survey helps notably toward rectifying this lack. Limiting himself to the verse literature, he provides first an introductory account of continental origins and older traditions of Germanic poetry, then presents the various types of English monuments in their historical and critical relationships. Excerpts in the author's own careful and sensitive translations illustrate each chapter. There is an appendix on the manuscripts of verse collections, on the Cynewulfian signatures, and on the "Storm" riddles of the Exeter Book (numbers 2 and 3, which Kennedy regards as a single poem primarily describing winds).

Especially to be commended is the enrichment of the discussion by frequent references to the earlier cultures from which the Anglo-Saxons derived their complex heritage. Not only are the pagan heroic legends given their due recognition once more, but the varied loans from classical art and science, and the contributions of patristic theology, also receive significant emphasis. These latter debts of Old English poetry are not always estimated at their true worth. Kennedy's scrupulous account of them opens vistas of cultural con-

tinuity which are essential to our appraisal of pre-Conquest England against a general European background. Many students not yet fledged as specialists will be grateful, too, for the reliable discussion of certain thorny matters of critical controversy. They will find these problems analyzed with consistent reference to the values and objectives expressed in the poetry itself. In fact, Professor Kennedy is particularly successful in evoking for us the attitude of mind of early English poets: the learned and serious men who had so well absorbed the Christian culture of Mediterranean lands, while retaining the somber reflections and heroic exaltations of native pagan lore.

Certain difficulties of presentation arise in connection with any literary history such as this. One of them is the question of introducing technical definitions and special allusions in such a way that they are comprehensible to a beginner and yet do not interrupt the exposition with tangential explanations. This difficulty is not handled quite as one would wish, I think, in the opening chapters of the book. An unexplained mention of "*Genesis B*" and its Old Saxon original occurs near the very beginning (p. 17), for instance, before the constituent parts of the *Cædmonian* poems have been explained; in the chapter on "Continental Backgrounds" the *Völundarkviða* (thus spelled, curiously, while *Völsungasaga* and *Skjöldungasaga* appear throughout with unmodified vowels) is cited without reference to the *Poetic Edda* (p. 32); Snorri's *Prose Edda* is mentioned without indications concerning the author or time and place of composition (p. 33); likewise the *Ynglingatal* and *Skjöldungasaga* lack temporal and geographical elucidations (p. 53 f.), while the *Grettingsaga*, first cited incidentally without explanation (p. 61), is not assigned to fourteenth-century Iceland until nine pages later. The references to Church Fathers and classical authors are handled with more skill. Teachers of medieval literature have observed in practice how necessary it is to insert definitions, dates, and local placements together with every incidental allusion of the sort; Icelandic literature, even more than classical, perhaps, requires such explanations in a book directed toward students of Old English.

Another problem, admittedly a bothersome one, arises in connection with the great body of detailed scholarship clustering about each Old English text. How much of this should be digested and presented in a survey volume? No two writers will agree in their choices of matter for inclusion and exclusion. If, therefore, a suggestion is here made that some over-special topics are included while others of wide import have been omitted, it is to be understood that specific proposals are quite tentative. Among the items which appear to me to be over-special are the following: the recapitulation of early, exploded theories by Hughes and Stephens, attributing the *Dream of the Rood* passages on the Ruthwell Cross to *Cædmon* (p. 260); the occasional (but not consistent) listing of all early editions of a minor poem such as *The Grave* (p. 326); the truncated references within the text to inaccessible monographs like Agrell's *Runor Talmystik* (sic, p. 12; full and corrected title is

Rünornas Talmystik och dess antika Förebild); the unexplained reference to the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, a collection unfortunately not familiar to most students (p. 209); the detailed account of all theories, even the earliest and least probable, in connection with the *Wulf and Eadwacer* riddle. (By the way, Imelmann's theory did not relate Eadwacer to "the" Odoacer legend about the historical fifth-century chieftain, but to a homonymous fictitious personage.) Helga Reuschel's rather unconvincing thesis about Ovidian influence upon the lyrics is mentioned, but in connection with Virgil there is no reference to Brandl's "Beowulf Epos und Aeneis" (*Archiv*, 1937), which supplements Klaeber and Haber valuably. In the otherwise excellent account of Cynewulf's *Christ*, no mention is made of Brother Augustine Philip's decisive study (*PMLA*, LV [1940], 903-09); discussions of poetic pattern and structure omit reference to Adeline Bartlett's suggestive monograph, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1935); and the Body and Soul poems are brought into relation with the early Middle English Worcester fragments without citation of Eleanor Heningham's article on the problem (*PMLA*, LV [1940], 291-307). In the analysis of *The Dream of the Rood*, overt use might well have been made of Stevens' illuminating study, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* (1904) and Patch's "Liturgical Influence on *The Dream of the Rood*" (*PMLA*, XIV [1919], 233-57). But it is understood that not all of these suggestions could have been practically followed in a restricted study. Professor Kennedy may have had excellent reasons for the omissions and inclusions here listed.

There is one larger omission, however, which looms more conspicuously in this sketch of Old English poetic art. Professor Kennedy does not touch upon the various types of evidence pointing to Celtic, especially Old Irish, influence on the Anglo-Saxon. Irish Christian learning contributed both directly and indirectly to the Northumbrian schools. Irish homiletic eloquence provides a link between Old English Body and Soul poems and the remoter Egyptian origins of the theme. Irish kinship with Old English elegies has been suggested more than once: by E. Sieper in *Die altenglische Elegie* (1915) and more recently by Kenneth Jackson in his *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (1937); yet neither of these proposals is mentioned. The claim of some scholars that Irish folklore analogues of *Beowulf* are organically connected with the English epic may not be convincing; but even without them we know there was cultural interchange between England and Ireland. This sort of influence deserves recognition in a book like Kennedy's. At the same time, it may be added, some of the known causes and forces affecting the literature are formulated in terms all too easily misinterpreted. When the qualities of early poetry are said to spring from "the Germanic strain," to be "firmly rooted in character," or to manifest "race memories rooted in Germanic tradition," the author appears (inadvertently, no doubt) to be importing unexplainable

absolutes into literary history under the guise, paradoxically enough, of offering explanations. A more careful formulation would have made such statements more concrete and also more meaningful.

Professor Kennedy's outstanding service throughout the book is his concern to make Old English life and aspirations comprehensible to us through the poetry. The task is a not ungrateful one; perhaps easier today than he is himself aware. On one occasion worth noting he has missed a tragic likeness between those times and ours. Speaking of elegies such as *The Wanderer*, he says: "Indeed, such have been the changes in the forms of civilization, the tragic symbol of a 'man without a country' can hardly be as bitterly vivid to the modern mind as was the fate of his Germanic prototype to our early English ancestors" (p. 102). Alas that it should be so!—but this statement is only partially justified. The forms of civilization have changed, truly, but never has there been a period of history in which so many exiles, unhappy refugees in our very midst, could share with poignant understanding the sentiments of a Seafarer, a Deor, or a Wanderer. Their plight and our joint participation in a new kind of heroic age bring us close again to the themes of early English verse. Professor Kennedy's book helps us to repossess the wisdom and fortitude of a former age: a heritage needed and welcome as never before.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

New York University

The Owles Almanacke. Edited with an introduction by DON CAMERON ALLEN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. 103. \$1.50.

Mr. Allen's edition of *The Owles Almanacke* provides us with a Jacobean sample of the traditional practice of parody upon the astrologer. In his introduction the editor offers an economical and effective survey of the standard almanac and prognostication, a background against which the satire itself shows clearly. As Mr. Allen states, the document he edits is essentially an appendix to *The Star Crossed Renaissance* in which he discussed at length the almanac and almanac satire. The counterpart in our own time of the Renaissance almanac writer is, I might suggest, the journalist-prognosticator or "analyst," and the recent J. P. Marquand rendition of that type in *So Little Time* fulfills somewhat the same satirical impulse as that of *The Owles Almanacke* in 1618, a satirical impulse to parody two varieties of pronouncement, one tautologically true and the other fatuously true.

Despite such an engaging parallel, however, and contrary to what both the author and the publisher suggest (witness the comparison with Rabelais, p. 8) the satire itself is not intrinsically good or consistently interesting. It has a fault common to a great many such

period pieces; it is an admixture of fancifulness and dullness which add up to tedious virtuosity. I venture this as but a mild protest to the editor for sharing a sin of many commentators upon certain Elizabethan and Jacobean writings: a tendency to find successful whimsicality in fantastic pedantry and to discover too readily in such *tours de force* a cross section of the Elizabethan "average mind." The heavy satire of *The Owles Almanacke* is, after all, not much better than the heavy content of the almanacs it parodies. Mr. Allen's introduction to the text, however, is well written, instructive, and entertaining. It effectively describes and glosses a museum piece of the period.

BRENTS STIRLING

University of Washington

Francis Bacon on Communication & Rhetoric or: The Art of Applying Reason to Imagination for the Better Moving of the Will. By KARL R. WALLACE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 277. \$5.00.

Professor Wallace's purpose in this volume is to collect the rhetorical ideas scattered through Bacon's writings, analyze them, and arrange them in as well integrated a pattern as possible, by no means an easy task, since the philosopher left no systematic explanation of them. The most extended discussion of rhetoric is to be found, as might be expected, in the *Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis*, but comments, hints, and inferences regarding the subject are scattered throughout his work. After a discussion of Bacon's general ideas on public address, and on the special province of rhetoric, the author proceeds to group and discuss Bacon's ideas under the five traditional divisions of rhetoric, to which, however, he is required by Bacon's own emphasis to add "Logical Proof" and "Pathos and Ethos in Rhetorical Composition." The last part of the volume explains Bacon's relationship to classical rhetoricians and to contemporary rhetorical theory, and conducts a somewhat hasty survey of Bacon's influence on subsequent rhetorical ideas. The volume contains an index and a bibliography, the most distinctive feature of the latter being an unusually comprehensive list of rhetorical treatises published on the continent. While Professor Wallace holds that Bacon's view of rhetoric is purely classical, he shows that it cannot be traced to one particular author, but represents rather a combination of ideas taken from several sources. More important, Bacon laid emphasis upon rhetoric as an intellectual activity, upon logic and arguments. He differed from the dominant Renaissance attitude, which separated rhetoric from logic and identified it with "elocutio," or style. The most distinctive aspect of Bacon's rhetorical theory, says Professor Wallace, is his association of rhetoric with the imagination, which should be employed for a

moral purpose, for the aiding of reason to move men to right conduct.

For the most part, Bacon's rhetorical view exerted little influence upon theories of prose in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is true that the "naked" style which he advocated for scientific discourse was taken over by the scientists who formed the Royal Society, was extended to other types of discourse, even sermons, and became one of the chief goals of the scientific movement. But with other rhetorical views of Bacon the scientists were quite out of sympathy. In fact, Spratt seems to take issue with Bacon's conception of rhetoric and to show how it is no longer applicable (see *History of Royal Society* [1667], pp. 111-12). Furthermore, Spratt proposes Bacon's own style as a model, not for serious prose, but for wits and poets (*ibid.*, pp. 416-17).

But if Bacon's rhetorical views were uncongenial to his followers in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, they certainly are revealed in the poetic theory of the neo-classical period, though one would hardly attribute the phenomenon directly to his influence. Again and again in reading Professor Wallace's clear explanation of the philosopher's ideas of the nature and purpose of rhetoric, we are struck by their proximity to the poetic theories of the next age and by the complete confusion of poetic and rhetoric. The rational control of the imagination, the imitation of nature, and the moral purpose of art, fundamental principles in neo-classical esthetics, are conspicuous in the earlier rhetorical theory. The critic who believes that a poet must be a moral philosopher is in complete harmony with Bacon's insistence that rhetoric utilize the knowledge of right conduct which ethics makes available. As Bacon would enlist rhetoric in the cause of truth and goodness, so the neo-classicists would employ poetry for the imitation of nature and the reformation and instruction of men. When Bacon states that in rhetoric the function of the imagination is "to second reason and not to oppress it," he foreshadows Johnson's dictum that the function of poetry is to bring imagination to the aid of reason. Professor Wallace says that "'distrustful of the free and uncontrolled play of the imagination in poesy,' Bacon decides later in the *Advancement* to make imagination subservient to reason, and assigns it to rhetoric as one of the rational arts." The neo-classical critic definitely opposed the romantic type of poetry which inspired Bacon's definition, and which permits unrestrained use of the imagination, but he advocated a type in which imagination is kept subservient to reason, and which properly belongs to one of the "rational arts." In reading Professor Wallace's careful exposition of Bacon's rhetorical ideas, one may not find very much to throw light on later rhetorical theory, but he will find a great deal which suggests neo-classical theories of poetry.

RICHARD F. JONES

Washington University

Hazlitt in the Workshop: The Manuscript of "The Fight." Transcribed with Collation, Notes, and Commentary, by STEWART C. WILCOX. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. xi + 94. \$1.50.

Mr. Wilcox announces as his purpose "to interest those who are fascinated by literature in the making, and to study the genesis of 'The Fight' to see how Hazlitt's writing habits influenced the style of his familiar essays." Yet to the scholar this book is valuable primarily because it goes far to prove that P. P. Howe erred when he argued that Hazlitt's frequent digressions were deliberately added in proof in order to create a "symposium of moods." By printing the fragmentary Morgan Library manuscript of "The Fight" (one of the few Hazlitt manuscripts extant) and carefully collating it with the first published version of the essay, Mr. Wilcox proves that, here at least, Hazlitt made, as he elsewhere claimed, only trifling changes in the galley.

The manuscript offers disappointingly little evidence of the creative mind at its task of selection and rejection, but it teaches us new respect for Hazlitt's command of words and new understanding of his lack of literary discipline. Eager to preserve the spontaneity of his first writing, he made few substantial changes; his only major revision was to delete three irrelevant passages concerning Sarah Walker—one of which he laid aside for later use in the *Liber Amoris*. As Mr. Wilcox remarks, Hazlitt "wrote what came into his head, then pruned" what seemed to be in poor taste or to mar his structure. But since "The Fight" is one of his most unified essays, skeptical readers may conclude that, more often than not, he merely "wrote what came into his head." They must, however, thank God for making such a head, and Mr. Wilcox for revealing it.

RALPH M. WARDLE

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Walt Whitman: An American. By HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943. Pp. 381. \$3.75.

In the past two decades Walt Whitman's personal faults and idiosyncrasies have been so mercilessly revealed by literary research and psychological analysis that his character and reputation have been seriously endangered. Indeed, it may be said that Whitman biography had very nearly reached a crisis when Mr. Canby began his book. It is not a question of facts but of interpretation. Nearly all biographers agree on the basic details of Whitman's life; they disagree in their deductions. All now admit that the poet advertised and puffed himself in anonymous reviews; that he played a literary role with such indefatigable energy that it is difficult to say what

he was like beneath the disguise; that he glorified his heredity and helped write the first biographies published by his friends; and that in old age he claimed to be the father of illegitimate children (a claim for which there is still no proof whatsoever).

Mr. Canby is thoroughly familiar with the literature on these puzzling characteristics, but he thinks the importance of the poet's external life has been exaggerated. He has not discovered any astonishing new facts himself, but he examines and weighs those of other biographers and critics; and the value of his book lies in his judgment of these facts and theories.

What sort of man, then, emerges from this reinterpretation? In the first place, Mr. Canby distinguishes between the "real" and the "symbolic" Whitman, the man whom the poet's contemporaries knew and the dream of himself and his country which Whitman succeeded in expressing through his poetry. Although the dream does not correspond to reality, it is the "vision" or "symbol" which has achieved a unique position and become a dynamic influence in world literature. Whitman has often been misunderstood because his "I" was neither his own ego nor the editorial "We" of journalism, "but 'my soul,' by which he meant an identification of himself with the power of greatness which he felt intuitively to be entering his own spirit." The poet, therefore, began a long career of dramatizing his "soul," presenting "a 'Walt Whitman' who was symbolic, yet in his knowledge of men and cities and scenes and emotions of the common man was also representative of the merely human Walt who had been absorbing the life of America so passionately for many years."

The chief disadvantage of this interpretation is its subtlety and its subjectivity, but it is perhaps the only means by which Mr. Canby can evoke a man and poet capable of writing *Leaves of Grass* and becoming a great legend like Lincoln or Washington. At any rate, it is a new approach to the Whitman puzzle and deserves consideration. As a consequence of Mr. Canby's original point of view, his Whitman is more competent as a journalist, more shrewd as a political observer, and more stable in character than the Whitman of recent biographers—who have been so intent on destroying myths that, by unintentional paradox, they have made the poet's literary achievement seem more miraculous than ever. Mr. Canby's book not only helps to avert a "crisis" in Whitman's reputation, but it also opens up new possibilities for literary research and for other critical reinterpretations of the poet and his works.

The reproduction of nearly a dozen photographs of Whitman, showing him in various stages of the drama which he lived as well as wrote, contributes to the usefulness of this book. It also contains a helpful five-page bibliography. The index is inadequate.

GAY WILSON ALLEN

Bowling Green State University

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GENERAL

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* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.

Inter-American Workshop

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, JUNE 21-AUGUST 18

Plans are being perfected for an Inter-American Workshop to be held at Stanford University with the collaboration of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from June 21 to August 18. The staff of the workshop will be members of the Stanford faculty who are specialists in Latin American matters and visiting scholars and lecturers from Latin America. A Spanish house for women students who wish to perfect their knowledge of spoken Spanish will be operated. Spanish language motion pictures, programs of music of the Americas, dramatic readings and exhibits of Latin American art, handicrafts and publications pertaining to Latin America will supplement the class work.

Further information and enrollment blanks may be obtained from Dr. Juan B. Rael, Director of Inter-American Workshop, Department of Romanic Languages, Stanford University, California.

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